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T H E

John Adams

CRAFTSMAN.

B Y

CALEB D'ANVERS,

of GRAY'S-INN, Esq;

VOL. III.



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THE
CRAFTSMAN.

N^o 86. SATURDAY, *February* 24. 1727-8.

C. Bæbium *tribunum pleb.* magnâ mercede parat,
cujus impudentia contra jus, & injurias omnis mu-
nitus foret. SALUST.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,



THE Croud of Adversaries, who attack you daily, puts me in mind of the *Shades* that surrounded *Ulysses*, in the eleventh Book of the *Odyssy*; the *Ghosts* only of armed Men. They are indeed but a sort of wild, clumsy, awkward Appearances, without Address or Language, and look as if they were designed only to fill up the publick Papers; to postpone the current *Lye of the Day*; and to prove that there can be yet something more dull than the dry and repeated Articles of a daily News-writer.

I think you have already said, that you do not intend to answer these *Mushroom Writers*. Let me tell you, that it is not in your power; for every thing is *unanswerable* that is *unintelligible*. I dare say, Sir, when any Man, of Candor and Learning, shall do you the Honour to criticize your Conduct or your Writings, you will receive his Endeavours with the Humanity that one Gentleman owes to another; and either own and retract your Errors, or convince him that they are not such. In the mean time go on, notwithstanding these *Dumb-founders*. Go on, intrepid. Preserve your Courage and your Integrity. Strike at the Root of all Evils, *Corruption*. Methinks your Story of the *Knez Menzikoff* would still afford Matter for many useful Reflections. You seem to have dropt this Subject too soon. It might not be amiss to consider, in the Case of the *Knez*, what infinite Mischiefs must necessarily happen to a Country under the Power of a *corrupt first Minister*; especially if he is, at the same time, of an audacious, insolent Temper. *Corruption* is, in its Nature, of very dangerous Consequence in all Ranks and Degrees of Men; but as *Example* has generally great Weight, especially with the Vulgar, it seems to be a tacit Justification and Encouragement to People, in *lower Offices*, to become *corrupt*, when they behold their *Chief* owing all his Wealth, and Power, and Grandeur to *Corruption*; and publickly scoffing the *Prudes of Virtue*. If a *Tide-waiter*, who takes a Bribe of *ten Shillings*, engages for That to do a Damage to the Publick of a *hundred times the Value*; how must it rise in Proportion as it advances to People in Places of much *higher Trust and Value*? There might be some Hopes of Cure, or of checking the Infection, should this Vice prevail only among the *lower Branches* of an Administration, so that the *upper and nobler Parts* continued *sound*. But whenever it shall be placed on the Pinnacle of Power, in the very Heart of a *first Minister*,

ster, it will no longer be contained within any bounds. The Contagion will take and spread, and the whole Country become infected. A *Minister*, of this Kind, will be naturally disposed to judge that the *same Principle* of Action, which he feels in himself, will have the *same Influence* on the rest of Mankind.

His *Interest* obliges him to make Experiments upon others; who, when corrupted, become the necessary means to support his Power, and screen his Guilt; and his *Vanity* inclines him to prefer this Method to any other, that he may thereby bring every one to the same infamous Level with himself; and since he cannot, or will not be honest himself, he is unwilling that any one else should be thought so. What he cannot effect immediately by *downright Corruption*, he attempts by an *insolent Ridicule* of all *Virtue* and *Decency*. Those, whom he cannot *bribe* from their Integrity, he endeavours to *laugh* out of it, that his favourite Vice may seem the most fashionable Quality; and as *Corruption* supports his Power, his Power countenances and supports *Corruption*; and his natural Insolence is very instrumental in promoting both the one and the other; till, at length, he contrives to involve so many in his Guilt, that his Defence becomes a *common Cause*, and, as *Tacitus* says of a *corrupt Man* in his Times, *Si Marcellus Epirus caderet, agmen reorum sterneretur*.

By these means *Corruption* becomes the sole Expedient of Government, and the Security of the great *Corrupter* is made the only End of it; every part of Management, both at home and abroad, is contrived to answer this Purpose. For this Purpose only *publick Revenues* are squander'd; *Treaties* made or broke; *Alliances* formed or altered; *Peace* or *War*, every thing is made to center in this one Point of securing the Wealth or Power of the *corrupt Knez*, under the Delusion of supporting the Government.

It has been said that a *near Relation* of this same Knez, of whom we have been talking, being employed by him in Affairs of the greatest Importance, used very frankly to pronounce his Judgment upon publick Measures and Transactions, even in *foreign Courts*; *Cela seroit ou ne seroit pas bon pour NOTRE FAMILLE*; insomuch that the *Trade and Prosperity* of the Kingdom, the Interests of *Religion*, and the *Balance of Power* were only Expressions thrown out, at proper Times, to signify the Welfare of the Family of honest Knez Menzikoff.

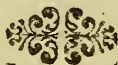
We had once a Knez of this sort in *England*, who made every Thing subservient to his own insatiable Avarice and Ambition; who constantly engaged his Master in Quarrels abroad, and made him consume his own and his People's Treasure; sometimes to assist the *Emperor* against *France*; at other times *France* against the *Emperor*; changing and shifting the Party, according to his own Passions and Interests, without any regard to the Honour of his Sovereign; whom yet he impudently deluded with the Notion of his being *Arbiter of Europe*; and which in reality He might have been, with a *wise* and an *honest Ministry*; but was then, by Turns, made the Property of each of the great Powers in *Europe*. Every one, I suppose, will judge that I can mean nobody but *Cardinal W——*. The King parted at last with this *bad Minister*; but not time enough to preserve or to recover that Weight and Figure in the Affairs of *Europe*, which he had been so well qualified to maintain at his first Accession to the Throne. He took indeed from the *Cardinal* all his ill-gotten Riches; but did not apply them so well as you tell us your young *Russian Monarch* has done Those of his *disgraced Minister*. This young Prince has, by this first Act of his Power and his Justice, already obtained a great Character, and raised a high Opinion of his future Conduct, in all the Courts of *Europe*.

Princes

Princes are often deceived by a mistaken Notion, that *those Minsters*, who are odious to their *People*, are more likely to be dependent on *Themselves*; but Experience has constantly shewn, that such Ministers have always contrived to bring their Masters under a *Dependance*, and to load his Government with their *personal Guilt*; and sometimes have gone so far at last, as to make their Peace with the People at their *Master's Expence*. However, their mighty Professions of Zeal are always to be suspected; and it is safer much for a Prince to judge of Men by what they do to *one another*, than by what they do or profess to *Him*.

It very often happens likewise, that *Fear* makes a *first Minister*, though glutted with *Corruption*, not dare to descend. He sees himself on the Summit of the Mountain. The Precipice below looks horrid. The Moment he attempts to come down, he beholds the Ladders, by which He ascended, ready to sink under him. The Cries of an enraged and an injured People sound dreadful in his Ears; and he is terrified in his Dreams with *Impeachments* or *Bills of Pains and Penalties*. Thus *great bad Men*, like *little bad Men*, seldom enjoy their Rapine in Peace. The loud Laugh at the *Levée*, the seeming Serenity at the *Council-Board*, and the daring Intrepidity in *publick Assemblies* very often cover a disturbed, an anxious, and a guilty Heart.

R.

I am, &c.



N^o 87. SATURDAY, *March 2, 1727-8.*

One of my Correspondents at *Oxford* hath communicated to me the following Manuscript, which hath been lately discovered there. It is an Epistle from a worthy Citizen of *London* to the famous *R. Dudley*, Harpy of State, in the Reign of *Henry the VIIth.* The great Lord *Verulam* calls this Minister *Shearer of the People.* Whether it is genuine or not, let the Antiquarians dispute; but as I am pretty confident that it will entertain, I think it my Duty to give it to the Publick.

THOMAS CAPEL, Knight, Citizen of *London*, to
R. DUDLEY, greeting.

Master *Dudley*,



YOU have, for two or three Years past, indulged yourself in the Libertie of calling Names; and many Gentlemen, particularly the Citizens of *London*, (when they have had the Honour to differ from you) have been braunded with the Name of PERKINITES. You have lately given me that Titel too. Now, albeit, Master *Dudley*, that I am obliged to you for this Misnomer, as thereby you indicate me to be your Enimie; yet I must tell you that there are very few, who are really *Perkinites*, but what are your *Well-willers*, if not your *Freinds* and *Minions*. They desire heartily that you may go on in the *same Measures*, whiche you are now pursuing. They confesse that they have littel to hope for but in the Confusions, whiche they see arising from your great Skill in managing our Affaires both at home and abroad. They see, and re-
joyce

joyce to see that you have formed *burthensome, useless,* and *expensive Schemes*, and such as could not coincide with the Interests of your Countrey. They saye, that you have endeavoured, by binding downe the Armes of a brave and redoubted People, to make them contemptible to their Enimies, and ridiculous to their Freinds; that you have forced our *Commerſe* in general to ſtagnate; and that, in ſome Partes of the Worlde, by the Measures whiche you have purſued, it is quite loſt.

They ſaye, Maſter *Dudley*, that while you are buſied at home in filling your own Coffers, you have neglected your Dutie to your Prince, and the Honour and Wealth, and Trade of *Olde Englonde*; and at the ſame time ſuffer your Paraſytes to call your Miſdeeds your Glories, and to abuſe and nickname ſome of the beſt Subjects of his Maſteſty's Grace. Thus when you take it into your Head to intrude very openly on the Rightes and Liberties of my Fellow Cittyzens, and when they reſuſe to be your Vaſſals, you call them *Perkinites*; but they hold you in Deriſion. They ſhew you that the Freemen of the Citty of *London* are not to be made the Toolles of a Plunderer. They reſuſe your Bribes. They deſpiſe your Menaces, and laughe at your weak Machinations.

But, Maſter *Dudley*, ſince you have beene pleaſed to affirme that I am a *Perkinite*, I hope you will ſuffer me to affirme that I am not one. I renounce the Titel, and ſurrender it backe into your hands. You will frequently have occaſion for it. But prythee tell me, muſt every Man in *Englonde* be accounted *loyal* or *diſloyal*, juſt as he happens to be gracious or ungracious in your Eyes? Is a Man to be deemed a *good* or a *bad Subjecte*, juſt as his Conſcience ſuffers him to act for or againſt you. Good Maſter *Dudley*, permit your *Judgment* to correct your *Vanitie*. That perhaps will inform you how bad the Conſequence may be of confounding the Uſe of Words. Why doe you

you endeavour to revive invidious Distinctions among your Fellow-Subjects?——A Man must keep very much, and very bad Companie, who converses at this day with a professed *Perkinite*. What private Researches you have, and where you find them, I know not. If you imagine that you shall be a happier, a richer, or a more powerful Man, when the publick Divisions give you Room to play, and finde that the Waters are better to fishe in, when they are disturbed, we can account for this Humour of yours, and tell why you delight to calumniate us honest Citizens. But I would advise you cordially to reflecte *Whom* it is you impose upon; and if the publick Tranquillity should by their Means ever be destroyed, give me leave to assure you, Master *Dudley*, that you may account severely for these Misrepresentations.

For know you farther, that every Eye beholds and contemns your little Crafte; and while you very weakly imagine to cover your Guilte by throwing every Thing into Disguise, every Man of Reflection sees through your wicked Designs. The Word *Perkinite* wil not, can not be of that Service to you, which it hath formerly bin. This Manner, so peculiar to you, of calling every Man *Perkinite*, who is an Enemy to your exorbitant Plunderings, is the very Trick of a Fellow, who robs the House and crys Fyre at the same time to facilitate his Escape. You do perhaps, and from your Practices you may, very properly conclude that what weakens your *Master's* Interest, strengthens *your owne*; but This you should not publish; for did your Master think so, he is too *wise* to support your Ambition at his owne Expence; too *just* not to punish so low and so mischievous a Polititian; and too *merciful* not to remove the *Wolfe* from being the Guardian of the Foide.

Master *Dudley*, you wil be disappointed in all your Endeavours. We are, we will be united to a Man in our Affections and Loyaltie to our Prince, doe what
you

you will, say what you will to the contrarie. We will prevent your low Endeavours and uncover your littel Fraudes. The King has, or but for you would have, every Heart in his Dominions. We will no longer be divided, and embroiled and indebted, that *you* and your *Clan* only may be enriched. Think sometimes what must be the Consequence, when your Deeds shall come to be inquired into; when our royal Master's Penetration shall discover in what Manner and to what Degree his Name, his Peopel, his Wealth, his Dignitie and his Power have been abused by you.

I would beseech you therefore not to be too elate. You and I have heard and read of the Fall of many *great Men*, who stood upon Precipices not much unlike That, upon whiche you now stand. Do not conceive that the whole Welfare of the Publick is center'd in *your selfe*; nor set your selfe up as the only Standard of *Loyaltie*. Nickname no Bodie. *Abuse* may alienate the Affections of weak Understandings from the *Persons*, to whom their Affections are most due.

If it is criminal in you not to doe all in your Power to make the Peopel love their Prince, should you doe any thing to lessen him in their Esteem; in you, Master *Dudley*, it might be a Kind of Misprision of Treason; and let me tell you that every Man in *Englond*, who loves and honours his Sovereigne, has a Righte to his Affection.

I advise you therefore at once to put an End both to your *Avarice* and your *Profusion*. Love your Fellow Subjects, tho' they say not as you say. Despise not the *Voice of the Peopel*. Prefer the Welfare and Glorie of your *Countrie* to your *private Interest*. Delight not in *Flatterie*. Examin your selfe by what *common Fame* says of you. She never gives Adulation to the *Great*. It belongs to *Astrologers* and *mechanical*.

chanical Pensioners only to place *Animals* in the *Zodiacke*, and mingle *Monsters* with *STARS*.

R.

I am, Master Dudley,

Thy Faithful Humble-Servant,

THO. CAPEL.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

SIR,

YOU have very justly animadverted on that popular Entertainment, called the *Beggar's Opera*, and proved, beyond all Contradiction, that it was written with a seditious Design. But give me leave to observe, that it seems (in the Apprehensions of some *over-wise* People) to have produced one ill Effect; which you have taken no notice of. I mean by filling our Streets with *Robbers* and *Foot-Pads*, who have swarmed in this Town ever since that mischievous Piece was first exhibited on the Stage. I need not tell you what Influence *powerful Examples* have on the Minds of the Multitude; since you, or one of your Correspondents, have so fully explained that Affair in your last Paper; which confirms the Opinion of these *Sages* that Captain *Mackheath's* being represented, in this *Opera*, in such amiable Colours, hath contributed more to these Enormities, than a *Proclamation* will perhaps be able to retrieve; for *Shame* and *Ignominy*, say they, are great Checks even on the worst sort of Men; and when these Restraints are taken away, by setting forth *publick Robbers* as Heroes, and artfully recommending them to the Applause of the whole Town, how can we expect that *Roguery* should not prevail?—From hence they conclude, that this Author was secretly set to work by *some Person*, whose

whose Circumstances made him wish that a *Plunderer of his Country* might, for the future, be esteemed a *less infamous Character*.

N.

*I am, SIR,**Your constant Reader and Humble Servant,**JACK HINTER.*N^o 88. SATURDAY, *March 9, 1727-8.*

THAT writing against MINISTERS is the same Thing as writing against the KING, hath been the stale, hackney'd Topick of all my little scribbling Adversaries, for above a Year past. This hath been constantly found to be their last Resort, and all their Arguments may be fairly reduced to this Point; a Doctrine so ridiculous and absurd, at first Sight, to every Man of the least common Sense, that I should not have troubled the Reader with any farther Remarks upon it, had it not been lately advanced by a *certain Gentleman*, of considerable Eminence, in a *Place*, where such Positions ought most of all to be abhorred, and will, I am sure, never receive any Countenance.

But since a Person, of his great *Learning and Figure*, hath thought fit to reason in this manner, I hope the regard, which I shall always equally preserve for the Honour of my *Prince* and the Liberties of my *Country*, will excuse the following Considerations.

This hopeful Aphorism is built on the old beaten Fallacy, that these Papers are written against some *particular British Ministers, now in Power*; whereas I
main-

maintain (and will defy the most sagacious of my Adversaries to prove the contrary) that they are written against *Vice* and *Corruption*, and *bad Ministers in general*; though I do not think myself obliged to declare, that I never had any *particular Persons* in my Eye, whilst I was writing; for as long as I confine myself to *general Expressions*, or wrap up my Invectives against *Vice* in *Dreams*, *Fables*, *Parallels*, and *Allegories*, I must insist on it that I keep within the proper Bounds of a *Satirist*, as prescribed by Critics, Moralists, and Divines in all Ages. But if any Reflections on the wicked Administration of *Sejanus*, *Gaviston*, *Wolfsey*, or *Villars*, must be esteemed Libels on his *present Majesty*, because some People may unjustly apply them to his *present Ministers*, and because *writing against his Ministers is the same thing as writing against himself*; if This, I say, is *Law*, *Logick*, or *common Sense*, the Lord have mercy upon *Writers of all Kinds*! for I will undertake to maintain the same Charge against *Tillotson's Sermons*, or the *Whole Duty of Man*, as they contain severe Reprehensions on several *Vices*, which, I am afraid, *some Ministers* have been guilty of, as well as other Men; and therefore,—But This is entering on the Subject of *Innuendos*, which I design to explain at large in another Paper.

I may, I think, go still farther and affirm, that writing against PARTICULAR MINISTERS (even whilst they are *in Power*) is a quite different matter from writing against the KING; and I hope will be always esteemed so, for the following Reasons.

First; because the contrary Supposition seems to be highly derogatory of the Honour of the *Sovereign*; as it evidently reduces Him to a LEVEL with his *Ministers*, and even carries a strong Implication that He is *personally* concerned in all their worst Actions, and therefore ought to support them with his Authority.

Secondly; this Supposition ought to be exploded with the utmost Contempt in a free Country, since it is absolutely destructive of the very Fundamentals of all *Liberty*; for if writing against *Ministers* is the same Thing as writing against the *King*, (which implies that we may be guilty of *High Treason* by writing against them) it may be argued, with Parity of Reason, that *acting* against *Ministers*, in any Degree, is the same thing as *acting* against the *King*; which would effectually put an end to all Opposition to *any Ministers*, in any of their Measures, however *weak* or *corrupt*, and convert all *Complaints*, *Petitions*, *Addresses* and *Remonstrances* of the People into *Libels*.

Nay, with the Help of another famous Court-Aphorism (*scribere est agere*)-join'd to This, under Consideration, the Business would be effectually done, and *writing* (i. e. *acting*) against *Ministers* would be an hanging affair.

But as I always understood it to be a *Whiggish* Principle, that even the *Prince* himself may be lawfully opposed, when he endeavours to destroy the established Constitution of the Kingdom; so I presume that no *Ministers* whatsoever are to be esteemed more sacred and inviolable than a *crown'd Head*. Indeed the greatest Advocates for *Resistance* (such as Bishop *Hoadley*, and others) do not contend for it but in Cases of the *utmost Extremity*, when *Fundamentals* are concern'd; which, God be praised! is not ever likely to be our Case, under his present most excellent Majesty, or any of his illustrious Family. But I suppose it will be owned, that *Ministers* may be guilty of very enormous Offences, besides overturning the Constitution, without the Knowledge, or contrary to the Inclination of the *Prince*; and whenever This happens to be the Case, I hope that writing against *such Ministers* would not be the same Thing as writing against the *King*.

Nay, I never heard that even the most strenuous Assertor of *Passive Obedience* ever carried that Doctrine so far as to include *Ministers* as well as the *Prince*. On the contrary, if I remember right, they always endeavoured to justify the pretended Illegality of *Resistance*, by this old Maxim of our Law; amongst other Topicks, *that the King can do no wrong*; alledging the Meaning of it to be, that his *Ministers* and *Counsellors* are accountable for all his Actions; which is certainly true in all Cases, except where *Male-Administration* arises from the *personal ill Disposition of the Prince*; which I take to be the Case of the late King *James*. But, according to this new Way of reasoning, the Maxim ought to be inverted, and run thus, (*viz.*) *MINISTERS can do no wrong*, because the *Prince* is answerable for all their *Mismanagements, Follies and Corruption*.

What monstrous and shocking Absurdities are These?—And yet I will defy any Man to prove, that they are not the natural Consequences and Result of this new-fangled Doctrine.

It was upon such Principles that the Prosecution of the *seven Bishops* was commenced, by way of *Information*, in the Court of *King's-Bench*. Their humble *Petition* to his Majesty, desiring to be excused from dispersing his *Declaration*, (which they could not in Honour or Conscience do) was wrested into a *Libel*, and the *same Kind of Arguments* were made use of to prove it so; particularly by Judge *Allybone*, a *professed Papist*, whose Speech, as *Echard* informs us, consisted of these two Positions; *First*, “ that
 “ no Man can take upon him to write against the
 “ actual Exercise of the Government, *unless He hath*
 “ *Leave from the Government*, but He makes a *Libel*,
 “ be what he writes *true or false*. *Secondly*, That no
 “ private Man can take upon him to write concern-
 “ *ing the Government at all*.”

To back these worthy Positions, He misquoted a Case in the Reign of King *James* the First, which would have been directly contrary to his Purpose, had he quoted it right. But the Historian tells us, *that little Heed was given to any Thing, which He said afterwards*; and those great Fathers and Ornaments of the Church were honourably acquitted.

It cannot be improper to put these Gentlemen in mind of an Occurrence, which happened at the latter end of the Reign of the late Queen ANNE; when the old Marquis of *Wharton*, of famous Memory, took the Liberty to examine one of her Majesty's *Speeches* in a very free Manner, in the House of Lords, and even to question the *Veracity* of some Part of it: Upon which a certain great Lord, who was at that Time in the Administration, got up and complained of this Liberty as *indecent* and *unwarrantable*. To which that *noble Peer* replied, that as these *Speeches* were always drawn up by *Ministers*, and laid before the *Privy-Council* for Approbation, He should always look upon them to contain the Sentiments of the *Ministry*, and take the Liberty to examine them accordingly.—After which, he was suffered to go on in his Remarks.

Now, if a *Speech*, which comes immediately from the Throne, in the Person of the *Prince*, may be treated in this Manner; certainly the bad Actions of *Ministers*, in which the *Prince* does not appear to have any Concern, may be opposed without the least Design, or just Imputation, of opposing the *King*.

I know it will be said, that these Liberties are not allowable any where but in *Parliament*; which is very true with Relation to *royal Speeches*, and some other *particular Matters*; nor do I mention it with any other Design than to shew that in Points, which have always been allowed to be canvassed *without Doors*, we ought constantly to make the

same Discrimination between the *Prince* and his *Ministers*.

It cannot indeed be thought surprizing, that *any Ministers*, especially *bad ones*, should endeavour to weave their *own Interest*, and that of their *Master*, however in reality *separate* and *distinct*, so artfully together, as to make them seem a *common Cause*. For which Reason, all such *abject Doctrines*, as I am now considering, are generally encouraged at any Rate, not only as they gratify the Vanity of *great Men*, by making them *EQUAL* to their *Prince*, but also as they tend to secure them from the Enquiries and Resentment of the People. But all *wise Princes* will be cautious how they are drawn into such a *dishonourable Union*, by making themselves, as it were, the *Allies* of their *Servants*, and becoming *Guarantees* for their *Indemnity*; it being demonstrable from Experience, that whatever is added, in this Manner, to the Power, Splendor, and Ostentation of the *Subject*, always lessens the Honor, and Interest, and Popularity of the *Sovereign*; who, by such Concessions to his *Ministers*, is generally looked upon as putting Himself under *Guardianship*, and being contented with reigning by *Proxy*.

Boccalini tells us, that the Emperor *NERO* having sent *TACITUS*, the Historian, twenty-five Mules laden with Gold, for the Complement, which He had bestowed on Him, in saying that He had not *infra servos Ingenium*; the most learned of the State of *Parnassus* were of Opinion, that though the Gift was very great, yet *Tacitus* deserved a much greater, since that excellent Elogy, that *NERO* had a Soul too great to be governed by a *SERVANT*, was much more valuable than a thousand rich Treasures; because, to the fatal Calamity of Princes, it can be truly said of but a very few of Them.

I am here tempted to expatiate on the Happiness which we enjoy, in living under a *Prince*, who excels the *Roman Emperor* before-mentioned, even in the
first

first glorious part of his Reign, as much in this Particular, as He does in Justice, Temperance, Lenity, Fortitude, and every other royal Virtue; nor does He stand in need of bribing a *Tacitus* to display them, since they are universally acknowledged by the *Voice of his People*.

I will conclude with a Passage or two out of the celebrated *Monsieur Balzac*, who seems to be perfectly Master of this Subject.

“ What therefore shall we say to those *insolent*
“ *Favourites of Fortune*, who, with flying Colours,
“ attack the Authority of the *Laws*, and of *common*
“ *Justice*; who bring to the Government of the
“ State a premeditated Design to destroy it; who
“ owe their Fat and goodly Plight of Body to the
“ Marrow and Substance of *plundered Provinces*; and
“ who raise up *great Families* upon the general
“ Wreck and Desolation of a whole Kingdom?

“ What shall we say to those *insupportable Servants*,
“ who revenge *their own little Quarrels* with the
“ Arms and Weapons of *their Master*; who declare
“ all Persons, who will not become their *Tools* and
“ *Prostitutes*, to be Enemies to his *Majesty*; who,
“ by a cruel, bloody, and most detestable *PEACE*,
“ throw the People into *Despair*, and endeavour to
“ precipitate them into *Rebellion* for their own Pre-
“ servation?”

D.





N^o 89. SATURDAY, March 16, 1727-8.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,

IT is hard to determine whether ELOQUENCE hath done more *harm*, or *good* to Society; tho' it is generally confessed that this Talent may be of great Use to the Publick, when in the Possession of a *virtuous Man*; the Nature of it being to work upon the Passions, and hurry them whithersoever the *Orator* pleases.

Eloquence, as *Longinus* observes, rather ravishes than persuades. It creates within us Admiration, Transport, Surprize and Astonishment. It is not barely pleasing. It is not the cold Reasoning of the Schools. It elevates and gives Vigour to the Soul of the Hearer. It instructs and delights, awakens and animates the Spirits to Virtue.

But whenever this Art, all-ravishing as it is, happens to be in the Power of a *vicious Man*, it very often has proved fatal to the Publick. It then serves as a bad Instrument to corrupt the Heart, and weaken the Spirits; to enervate the Powers of the Understanding; and soften it to receive any Impressions. Like the *strong Wine*, which *Ulysses* gave to *Polyphemus*, it is only a Preparative to *Destruction*.

The true Use of *Eloquence* is (as the late Archbishop of *Cambray* has told us) to throw Truth into open Day; to warm and instruct Mankind to act up to every Principle of Virtue; and to inform them that no Nation can have any Happiness but what is founded on the *moral Virtues*.

After

After what is said, some People will imagine that This is a very faulty Definition of *Eloquence*, while they look upon *Those*, who seem to have great Charms over the People, endued with *none of these Qualities*. But they are to know that there are great Pretenders to this Art, as well as to every other. The Mistake is owing to the Want of distinguishing between an *Harangue* and an *Oration*; between an *Haranguer* and an *Orator*. The *Haranguer* is noisy in his Accent, perplexed in his Words, and disturbed in his Action. The *Orator* is easy, clear and harmonious. The *one* is voluble; the *other* eloquent. The *one* is wily, the *other* wise. The *one* endeavours to puzzle and confound Truth; the *other* sets it in a distinct Point of Light, and clears it of all Cloud, and Interposition. The *one* sometimes receives a rude Applause from a noisy Audience; the *other* always sinks into the Hearts of his Hearers, and his Words carry Conviction. It is the Business of the *Haranguer* to sneer and ridicule Virtue, and outrage and condemn all Manner of Merit. This *Haranguer* however, tho' he is very far from being what he pretends to be, a Master of this Art of *Eloquence*; yet with a bad Heart, and Wealth and Power to support him, what Enterprizes may he not undertake? What Wickedness may he not perpetrate? Nothing surely is so formidable to a *free People* as an indefatigable, imperious, artful Disturber of the publick Peace.

History will inform us that the great Requisite to the compleating of a *spurious Orator*, is what we modestly call *Assurance*. When I have fairly thrown him in the *Wrestle*, says *Thucydides* to *Pericles*, he will not own, nay he persuades himself that he has not received a *Fall*; and, with a most undaunted Air, in the Face of every Spectator, asserts the contrary of what they saw; and sometimes prevails on them to be of the same Opinion. The Historian will likewise instruct us that Ambition and
Luxury,

Luxury, Avarice, false Eloquence, Pusillanimity and the like Ingredients, which compose *bad Ministers*, have in all Ages been the greatest Obstacles to the Clemency, Prudence and good Intentions of their several *Masters*, as well as to the Establishment and Oeconomy of *Government*. And should the Designs of any *rapacious Haranguer in Power* be seconded by the Luxury of the People; should the Nobility and Gentry of any Country, encouraged by the fashionable and expensive Vices, introduced for this very Purpose, out-live the current Incomes of their Fortunes, the *Commonality*, who generally copy their *Superiors*, will do the same; and from that very Moment they are all of them liable to take his Pay, and inlist in his Service. They are *Slaves*. Their Spirits and Vigour weaken with the loss of *Liberty*. They are immediately debased and enervated. They are indisposed to *War*, and yet incapable of *Peace*; and if, in this Situation, they escape the Danger of *civil Commotions*, the usual Offspring of *Intemperance* and *Luxury*, and which incite Mankind to plunder one another for want of other Subsistence; they usually fall an easy Prey to some *neighbouring Power*; who perhaps, from this Example, has learnt the mean Art of Government by *Money*. Thus each Individual being first *bought and sold*, the whole Nation is, by the same Means, *bought and sold* likewise.

The noble Foundations of Honour, Justice and Integrity are laid only in Frugality and Temperance; and the Man, tho' never so intentionally honest, who reduces himself to receive a *Bribe* or a *Pension*, will soon find that he has mortgaged his *Honour*; and it will be a difficult Labour, when once it is in the hands of a *State-Usurer*, to redeem it. A virtuous Man therefore, like a chaste Matron, should start at the first Offer of any thing of this Kind, and look upon a *Bribe*, in any Shape, as an Attempt upon his *Honour*. He should be careful how, or from whom he receives

receives any *pecuniary Acknowledgment*, tho' for doing his Duty; lest he should, at any time, be tempted to take a Reward for *not doing it*, or for acting *contrary to it*.

When the *Samnite* Embassadors came to the Cottage of *Cincinnatus*, with a Design to *bribe* him against the Interests of his Country, and found the great *Dictator* dressing, with his own Hands, a little *Pulse* for his Supper; They at once gave up all Thoughts of prevailing over the Virtue of so temperate, so frugal, and unwanting a *Patriot*.

Pericles, the *Athenian*, is a Character the reverse of the last mentioned. He, having plundered the Publick, chose rather, by the Advice of his Nephew *Alcibiades*, to plunge his Country into a *War*, than to stand the Charge of the People, who were determined to call him to a strict Account for imbezzeling their *Treasure*.

Yet even in the Days of the most general and infectious Corruption, a Man may preserve himself pure, who will vouchsafe to live within the Circle of his *private Fortune*, be it great or small. He may stand erect, a *free Man*, amidst a Croud of *Mercenaries*, and dare to act and to speak as the Integrity of his own good Heart shall dictate.

* *Virtue* would see to do, what *Virtue* would,
By her own radiant Light, tho' Sun and Moon
Were in the flat Sea sunk——

He that has *Light* within his own clear Breast,
May sit i'th' *Center* and enjoy bright Day;
But he, that hides a *dark Soul*, and *foul Thoughts*,
Benighted walks under the Mid-day Sun;
Himself is his own *Dungeon*——

R.

I am, &c.

* *Milton's Masque at Ludlow-Castle.*

To

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

YOU were pleas'd to observe in your last that, according to the Method of *Interpretation*, which hath been made use of to convert your Writings into *Libels*, you will undertake to maintain the same Charge against *Tillotson's Sermons* or the *Whole Duty of Man*; the latter of which hath been already explained in this manner, if we may give credit to the *Spectator*; which was so apposite to your Purpose, that I am sure you would have mentioned it, if it had occurred to your Memory; but as it is impossible for any Man to carry every thing in his Head at once, I hope you will not think it too late to insert it now, as I have transcribed it for you.

That celebrated and inimitable Author having taken notice of the Reflections of a certain *Coffee-house Politician* upon one of his Papers, which he construed into a *seditious Libel*, though it was manifestly written with a Design to expose the *Libellers of those Times*, makes the following Reflections.

“ At my leaving the Coffee-house, says He, I could not forbear reflecting with myself upon that gross Tribe of *Fools*, who may be termed the *Over-wise*, and upon the Difficulty of writing any thing, in this censorious Age, which a *weak Head* may not construe into *private Satire* and *personal Reflection*.

“ A Man, who hath a good Nose at an *INNUENDO*, smells *Treason* and *Sedition* in the most innocent Words that can be put together, and never sees a *Vice* or *Folly* stigmatized, but finds out one or other of his Acquaintance pointed at by the *Writer*. I remember an empty, pragmatical Fellow in the Country, who, upon reading over the *WHOLE DUTY OF MAN*, had written the Names of several Persons

“ in:

“ in the Village at the Side of every *Sin*, which is
“ mentioned by that excellent Author; so that he had
“ converted one of the *best Books* in the World into a
“ *Libel* against the *Squire, Church-Wardens, Overseers*
“ *of the Poor*, and all other the most considerable Peo-
“ ple in the Parish. This Book, with these *extraor-*
“ *dinary marginal Notes*, fell accidentally into the Hands
“ of one, who had never seen it before; upon which
“ there arose a current Report that Somebody had
“ written a Book against the *Squire* and the *whole*
“ *Parish*. The *Minister* of the Place, having at that
“ Time a Controversy with some of his Congrega-
“ tion on the Account of *Tythes*, was under some
“ Suspicion of being the *Author*, till the good Man
“ set his People right, by shewing them that the sa-
“ tirical Passages might be applied to several others of
“ two or three neighbouring Villages, and that the
“ Book was writ against *all the Sinners in England*.”

I think, Sir, your Observation is very just, when you say *that you are not obliged to declare that you never had any particular Persons in your Eye whilst you were writing*; because it seems unnecessary for an Author to write against *Vice in general*, in any Age, or any Country, which does not afford some *particular Instances* of it; and therefore I make no doubt that all the best Writers of *Satire*, either in Verse or Prose, drew their general Characters and Descriptions of the *Drunkard*, the *Libertine*, the *Miser*, &c. from some *particular Instances* of those Vices, which they had in their Eye, whilst they were writing.

This is generally supposed to be the Case of *Æsop* in his *Fables*, of *Theophrastus* in his *Characters*, and of the Authors of the *Spectator* in our Age. As to the *two last*, I have on my side the Opinion of a very ingenious Gentleman, who has given us an elegant Translation of *Theophrastus*, and distinguished himself, on many Occasions, in the *Spectator*; in his Preface to

to the former of which, He makes the following judicious Reflection.

“ *Theophrastus* was the SPECTATOR of the Age he lived in. He drew the Pictures of *particular Men*; and while he was describing, for Example, a *Miser*, having some *remarkable Offender* of this Kind in his Eye, he threw in a Circumstance or two, which, tho’ they might not possibly be proper Examples of *Avarice*, served to make the Picture of the Man compleat. A *Character* therefore in *Theophrastus* may be compared to a *Looking-Glass*, which is placed to catch a *particular Object*, but cannot represent that Object in its full Light, without giving us a little *Landskip* of every Thing else that lies about it.”

A.

I am,

S I R, &c.



N^o 90. SATURDAY, March 23, 1727-8.



HAVING endeavour'd to convince the reasonable Part of Mankind that the Design of this Paper is to *satirize Vice in general*, I must do my Adversaries the Justice to acknowledge that their *Apologies* and *Panegyrics* seem to run in the same Strain, and may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to any *Ministers*, who have ever met with any *Opposition*, from the Beginning of the World to this day. I have just been reading several Pieces of this Kind, especially on a late memorable Occasion; and instead of answering them, according to their most *importunate Intreaties*, I design to prove myself more their Friend, by drawing up their

Argu-

Arguments in the strongest Light, and letting the World see in what a flowing Style and forcible Manner they reason; both which are, I think, fairly represented in the following Letter.

A Panegyrical Address to a certain great Man.

S. I R,

I Beg Leave to congratulate you on your Power and Wealth and Grandeur; as well as on your late eminent Success and Triumph over all your Enemies, both at home and abroad; who are at length obliged to acknowledge your *superior Talents*. You are certainly not only the *greatest* and *richest Man* in the Kingdom, but likewise the *ablest Minister* that any Age or Country hath produced. You excel *Cicero* in Eloquence; *Atticus* in Veracity; *Burleigh* in Uncorruptness; and *Walsingham* or *Richlieu* in Negotiation. *Somers*, *Hallifax*, and *Godolphin* were only faint Images of your illustrious Character and prodigious Abilities. Your Wisdom in contriving, your Zeal in executing, and that *curiosa Felicitas* in applying Remedies to all the Distempers of the State are really surprizing; whilst your Integrity, publick Spirit, and disinterested Love of your Country shine forth in every Action of your Life. You are indeed the very Quintessence of all that is *great* and *good*, and *wise* and *noble*; and he that presumes to say otherwise, is — a *Traytor to his King* and an *Enemy to his Country*.

There is indeed a *little Faction* against you, composed of People of all Ranks both in the *City* and the *Country*; but This is the natural Consequence of eminent Worth, Plenty, and good Management. As the *Rich* oppose you out of Wantonness or Envy or Caprice; so the *Poor* do it out of meer Necessity and for Want of daily Bread. The Citizens of *London* were always a *factious Generation*, and therefore their Murmurs ought to have no Weight. You have already manfully *defied* them,

them, and deserve the Thanks of every *honest Briton* on that Account; for what can be either more heroick or praise-worthy than thus despising the Complaints and curbing the Insolence of *Tradesmen and Mechanicks*?

As to the *Country*, they have sent up their *Representatives*, and therefore ought not to concern themselves any farther, *let Matters go how they will*.

In short, Sir, *high and low, rich and poor*, the *Town* and the *Country* degenerate into a *factions, seditious Rabble*, when they oppose you; for you are properly the *Centre of Loyalty*, to which all our Affections ought to be directed; and They, who pretend to love and honour their *Prince*, without loving and honouring you at the same Time, and in the same Degree, are only *Jacobites in Disguise*, and do it in Favour of a *Poish Pretender*.

It is objected, indeed, that your *present Complaints*, on this Head, seem to be somewhat inconsistent with your *former Conduct*, when you took the Liberty not only to oppose, in the most vigorous Manner, all the Measures of a *late Whig Administration*, but even to make the *personal Character* of Majesty itself the Subject of your *Ridicule*. Whenever they enter upon this Subject, they affect to triumph, and ask us several very impertinent Questions. — Was not This, say they, somewhat more than *squinting* at Majesty? — Did not your *Patron* constantly pursue Those in Power, at that time, both within Doors and without, and use his utmost Endeavours to *distress the Administration*, till He got into it Himself? — But ought he to be called a *Jacobite* for acting in this Manner? — Or hath He only the Privilege of following his own Judgment without such Imputations?

But the Answer is easy. A Man of Genius, Experience, and disinterested Views ought certainly to have the Liberty of dissenting from *Ministers*, whenever he thinks fit. This was your Case. You were undeniably possessed of great Abilities and an upright Heart. *Ambition,*

bition, Disappointment, and Revenge made no Impression on your Mind. You had no Views but the *publick Good*; and therefore your *Opposition* was just and laudable; and, God be praised! it hath produced its *desired Effect*.——But it is impossible for any Man to be either *honest or wise*, who dislikes *your Measures*; which are so manifestly calculated for the *Honour* of his Majesty and the *Prosperity* of the whole Kingdom, that *Opposition* to you can proceed from nothing but *Folly or Madness*, from *Ambition or Disappointment*, from *Revenge, Malevolence or*——JACOBITISM.

This, Sir, is a Point, which all the Writers, who have done themselves the Honour to appear in your Behalf, have most strenuously insisted on; and I hope they will never suffer themselves to be laughed and ridiculed out of it. Nay, I do not despair of seeing the Time, when a *Patriot* shall be called after *your Name*, and when an *Enemy to you* and a *Traytor to his Prince* shall be generally esteemed *synonymous Terms*.

Nothing therefore gives me greater Pleasure than the Manner, in which these *worthy Writers* have represented your *popular Adversaries*——They think you are grown almost *too great for a Subject*. Ergo, they *unjustly* envy your Greatness——They think you ought to be *called to Account*. Ergo, they are actuated by a Spirit of *Revenge*, and want to get into *your Place*——They are resolved never to come into any *Measures*, which they think *destructive*. Ergo, they are *implacable*——They have not rendered themselves *necessitous* by Extravagance. Ergo, they are *avaricious*——They do not stand in need of cringing to you for *Subsistence*. Ergo, they are *proud, haughty and insolent*——They declaim against *Corruption*. Ergo, they are *Incendiaries*——They think their *Sovereign* greater than any of his *Servants*. Ergo, they are JACOBITES.

My *Brother Writers and Advocates*, (for I shall henceforth expect to be enrolled in that honourable List) have likewise been very happy in their Insinuations,

that a Man of a *large Estate*, and *reputed Oeconomy*, ought not to be trusted with the Management of *publick Money*, because Men are generally most prone to *Corruption*, when they have the *least Temptations* to it; and because *private Frugality* naturally tends to *publick Profusion*; whereas Experience teaches us, that a *private Spendthrift* may furnish us with the most shining Example of a *publick Oeconomist*.

I should be inexcusable, in this first Address to you, and sink below the Character of a *State Panegyrist*, if I did not congratulate you on the late glorious Victory, which you have obtained over your *ambitious, disappointed and revengeful Adversaries*. I really pity these Men, (to use your own Words) *and am at a loss to think what new Topicks of Scandal they will find out, to support their declining Cause*, now you have so absolutely defeated them on their * *most darling Point*. They cannot, I think, ever have the Assurance to mention that Matter hereafter by way of Reproach, since it hath been decided in so *candid and impartial* a Manner.

But if any of them should offer to open their clamorous Throats any more on this Head, we, your ingenious Advocates, know *who* are our Friends, and will stand by us in any Lengths. We will therefore *state* it, for your Advantage, in Print, with personal Invectives against your Adversaries, and let them answer us—if they dare.

But I find myself anticipated on this noble Subject by a *most elegant Writer*, who hath already made his Compliments to you, on this Account, with great *Delicacy, Truth, Impartiality* and good English.

Speaking to one of our *modern Malecontents*, he goes on thus—"And that, which must be your additional Uneasiness, is, that you can't pretend to *Those*,

“ who know how Affairs have been managed, that
 “ any *one Point* hath been carried against you by *meer*
 “ *Dint of Voices*; since it is undeniably true, that every
 “ Argument hath been *fairly debated* with you, and
 “ made its Way by its *own Merit*, to the full Convic-
 “ tion of *Those*, who assented to it; even before they
 “ did so assent to it.”——Prodigious Instance of Impar-
 tiality, *that Men should suffer themselves to be convinced*
before they gave their Assent!——But This perhaps is
 not surprizing to *Those, who know how Affairs have*
been managed.

Again. “ What Advantages hath the Obloquy of
 “ his *envious Opposers* given the *greatest Man*, that
 “ Britain e’er could boast, to appear *like Himself*; to
 “ vindicate his Honour from Falshoods and Aspersions
 “ of a *clamorous Faction*; and to appear as *good as*
 “ *great?*——*i. e. as much one as t’other.*

“ How glorious for Himself was that *bold and*
 “ *brave Defiance* of his Enemies, He was able to make,
 “ when his *Integrity* and *Abilities* were brought to the
 “ Test? He desired no *Favour* from them. The only
 “ one, in their Power, was to go through with their
 “ *Enquiries*; and This, by their shuffling, He was afraid
 “ they would deny Him. He *dared* their utmost Ma-
 “ lice; and, in the face of the most august Assembly
 “ upon Earth, challenged Them and all the World,
 “ (notwithstanding He had been *passive under infinite*
 “ *Abuse*) to prove that, in so much as one Instance,
 “ He had behaved unbecoming the *high Station* he was
 “ in; had embezzled or misapply’d a Shilling of the
 “ publick Money; had acted *inconsistent with the Honour*
 “ of his royal Master, or the true Interest of his Country,
 “ either at home or abroad.

“ A noble Challenge! and worthy *Himself*; and
 “ which He alone, who made it, was equal to. What
 “ *chief Minister* ever could say the same, with *Truth*?
 “ And what a Figure must the Person, who hath
 “ been able to do it, make in the just Annals of his

“ Times? The Event hath borne some Proportion to
 “ his high Desert; and He now stands *fully acquitted*
 “ of every Charge, by the GENERAL VOICE OF HIS
 “ * COUNTRY — even before any Charge hath been
 “ alledged against Him!

“ Here was no Recourse to *Artifice*, nor no Need
 “ of *more criminal Subterfuges* to procure This.
 “ Here was no skulking behind the *Prærogative*; nor
 “ no occasion to fly to the *royal Favour* for Pro-
 “ tection. As his Majesty is too good to give up his
 “ faithful Servants, so he is too just to protect any,
 “ that should be found otherwise. His *Uprightness*
 “ was his Refuge, and that *Constitution* He hath so
 “ eminently been the Guardian of. In a Word, this
 “ *Enquiry* hath made it evident, beyond all possibility
 “ of Contradiction, that as his *past Conduct* hath been
 “ fully examined and approved, so He stands in no
 “ need of *general Pardons* or *Acts of Grace*, for his
 “ *future Security*.” D.

From my own Chambers.

I Received, this Morning, a very agreeable Present
 of a Book, entitled, *A Defence of the Observations*
on the Assiento Trade, as it hath been exercised by the
S. S. Company, &c. in Reply to a late Pamphlet, en-
 titled, *An Answer to a Calumny, &c.* I could not a
 Moment delay reading a Piece from *this Hand* on so
 important a Subject; and, with the *Factor's* good Leave,
 will presume to give my Opinion that the *Facts*,
 which were before very *plausibly set forth*, appear now
 in a much stronger Light; and, if I mistake not, the
 Company

* In the Original it is spelt COUNTRY; which we take to be
 an Error of the Press, because the Compliment seems to be
 unlimited.

Company will once more stand in need of his masterly Assistance; which, it is hoped, he will not refuse, though he hath rashly bound himself, under the Penalty of TRANSPORTATION, *not to scribble any more.*

The Points, which to me seem to be strongly maintained in this Treatise, in Opposition to That of the *Factor*, are as follows.

1. That *Jamaica* was in Possession of a *considerable Trade* at the Time of the Establishment of the *Assiento Company*.

2. That the Trade of that Island did formerly employ at least 1500 Seamen, who are now chiefly removed to other Parts for Want of Encouragement.

3. That the Loss of their Trade is owing, or generally thought to be owing, to the Management of that *Company*; as appears not only by many cogent *Arguments*, but likewise by the *Testimony* of several Gentlemen of the Island.

4. That the *Company's* trading to *Guinea* hath been the Cause of the *Price* of Negroes being considerably advanced on *that Coast*, and consequently of rendring them dearer to the *British Planters*.

5. That the *Spaniards* are supplied with all the *choice pickt* Negroes, and *our own Planters* with the *worst*, which they refuse.

6. That the *Spaniards* are really in want of *Navigation* and *Seamen*, and therefore in no Condition to import any considerable Quantity of *Sugar, Tobacco*, and such like Commodities into *Europe*; and consequently that the *S.S. Company's* purchasing those Commodities and bringing them to *European* Markets must encourage them in making *farther Improvements* in those Manufactures, to the manifest Prejudice of the *British Plantations*.

7. That the Exercise of the *Assiento Contract*, in this Manner, is prejudicial not only to our *Colonies* in *America*, but to the *Proprietors* of the *S.S. Company* and the *Welfare of Great-Britain* in general.

8. That *Jamaica*, in particular, is, by these Means, in the lowest and most declining Condition, and unless some *proper Measures* are speedily applied, seems to be in Danger of either becoming a great Burthen to *Great Britain* in supporting it, or of falling a Prey to its vigilant and potent Enemies, who have always had an Eye upon it.

9. That the Generality of the Inhabitants of that Island are an honest, industrious, useful People, and not a Nest of *Pyrates* and *Robbers*, as they have been candidly represented.

Lastly, That a certain great Company seems to be * *confoundedly bit in their new Advocate.*

Whether the C——t of D——rs will think fit to transfer their Thanks from the *Factor* to the Author of the *Defence* (as there seems to be some Reason to do) I cannot determine; but sure I am that he deserves the Acknowledgment of the PROPRIETORS of that Company, as well as of the Gentlemen of *Jamaica* and all Well-wishers to the *British Trade* and *Navigation* in general.

Gray's-Inn, March 19.

CAL. D'ANVERS.

D.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THOUGH I do not think myself obliged to take Notice of every *obscure Wretch*, who endeavours to make *himself known* by scribbling against the *Craftsman*, and endeavouring to extort an *Answer* from Him; yet, to shew them that I have some good Nature in me, and am not altogether inexorable to their Complaints, I have already distinguished One of these *profund Writers* in the first Part of this Paper, and design to do the same Favour to *Another*, who obliged us last *Saturday*, in the *British Journal*, with a most extraordinary *State of the national Debt*; which may, for

* *Vide the Daily Journal, January 16. 1726-7.*

for aught I know, pass for a wonderful Performance amongst *some People*; but, upon looking it over, it appears to me in so ridiculous a Light, that nothing but the *Importance* of the Subject and a charitable Disposition towards a *decayed Paper*, which hath formerly seen *better Days*, could induce me to make the following short Observations upon it; which I hope will do it some Service.

Though the Writer, for the better carrying on his Design, hath added to the *national Debt*, at *Christmas 1716*, the Sum of *3 m, 155,858 l.* (the advanced Price paid for the *Irredeemables* in the Year 1720.) yet, even with the Help of this Artifice, he allows the Debt at that Time to be no more than *53 m, 743,438 l. 19 s. 6 d.*

And when the Payments made in Discharge of Part of this Debt, by the *Sinking Fund*, are deducted from it (which amount to *6 m, 648,762 l. 5 s. 1 d.*) the Sum then remaining of the Debt at 1716, is allowed to be no more than *47 m, 094,676 l. 14 s. 5 d.*

Whatever Sum, therefore, the *present national Debt* exceeds this *Forty-seven Millions, &c.* is properly an *Increase* of, or an *Addition* to that Debt, since 1716, which he confesses to be *3 m, 927,988 l. 7 s. 5 d.* and yet, with the most amazing Assurance, or Ignorance, affirms that this Debt is *lessened* by *2 m, 720,773 l. 18 s.* though, by his own Account, if the *Million* of the *Civil List Debt*, which is not included in his *State*, with the *allowed Deficiencies* on the *Malt and Land-Tax* for 1726 and 1727 (which are not less than *five hundred thousand Pounds*) were to be added, the *increased* or *incurred Debt*, since 1716, will be *5,427,988 l. 7 s. 5 d.* And in case the *3 m, 155,858 l.* (upon the *Irredeemables*) ought to be deducted from the *increased Sum*, in the *State of the national Debt*; a Point which seems, at least, to be very doubtful, till we see what *Use* is made of it; I say, that even allowing This, the *increased old Debt* or *incurred new Debt*

Debt (call it which you please) appears to be, from the *State* of this *wise Advocate* himself, near a *Million* more than what that *wicked Writer*, after this *Deduction*, makes it to be.

This is all that I judge necessary to say on the present Occasion; for though I do not pretend to any great Depth of Knowledge in *Figures*, I think I have sufficiently exposed the *gross Fallacies* or *Blunders* of this Writer, which cannot certainly impose on any Man, who is able to deduct *forty seven* from *fifty one*; and I believe his *Patrons* would be better pleased with him if, instead of puzzling his Head any more with *Calculations*, he would give us some farther Account of those authentick Records, in which he hath made a Discovery, *that the People of DENMARK lost their Liberties by contending too warmly about their NATIONAL DEBTS.*

C.



N^o 91. SATURDAY, March 30, 1728.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

GARRAWAY'S Coffee-House.



S you profess a great Regard for the publick Welfare and the Interest of Trade, I cannot help reminding you of a pretty remarkable Fact mentioned lately in one of the Daily Papers, relating to a gross and infamous Fraud in a *Custom-house Officer*, who put some *prohibited Goods* on board a Ship homeward-bound, with a Design to make a *Discovery* and intitle Himself to a Forfeiture of the *Ship* and *Cargo*. I find this Fact has alarmed a great many considerable Merchants, and put

put them upon enquiring how the *Law* stands in this Case; whether an Importation, by any Trader, of *Goods prohibited*, without the Knowledge of the Owner of the Ship, shall forfeit the Ship and Cargo; or, in other Words, whether the Fault, or Offence of one Man, in no wise dependent on another, shall affect him, tho' innocent, and bring him to Ruin and Poverty. This, upon the stating, seems a strange Proposition, and contrary to the first Principles of *natural Justice*. But I am informed that this Construction may be made upon the Letter of the *Navigation Act*. You will excuse me if I trouble you with a Recital of the *fourth Section* of this Act, on which it is said the Officer would have founded his Pretensions.

No Goods or Commodities, that are of foreign Growth, Production or Manufacture, and which are to be brought into England, Ireland, Wales, &c. shall be shipp'd or brought from any other Places or Countries, but only Those of the said Growth, Production, or Manufacture, or from those Parts, where the said Goods and Commodities can only, or are, or usually have been first ship'd for Transportation; and from no other Places or Countries, under the Penalty of the forfeiture of all such the afore-said Goods, as shall be imported from any other Place or Country (contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof) as also of the Ship, in which they were imported, with all her Guns, Tackle, &c. a Moiety to the King, and the other Moiety to the Seizer or Informer.

The Words in this Clause, *no Goods shall be imported but from the Place of their Growth, under the forfeiture of them, as also of the Ship*, at first Sight seem to be very strong, and by a rigid Construction may be carried, not only to the *whole Cargo*, but to any *minute Parcels*, imported; and may relate not only to the Owner, or *principal Freighter*, but to any Person whatsoever, who shall bring such Goods into the Kingdom, let him be *Passenger* or *Sailor*, in whose Power it may be to make a Forfeiture; for the bringing
of

of Goods into the Kingdom, by way of Merchandize, is in general an *Importation* in Law. The Gentlemen of that Profession best know the legal Construction of an Act of Parliament; but, under favour to better Judgments, such a Construction must entirely destroy all *Trade*; for what Merchant could trade with common Prudence or Safety, where no *Care, Caution* or *Integrity* of his own could prevent Frauds in *other Men*, that would be fatal to him? If there are *several Freighters*, each may bring in something *prohibited*. If *They* don't, the *Captain* may. If *He* should not, yet his *Sailors* may; either thro' the Hopes of a little Profit; or, which is perhaps more probable, from not knowing *what* is prohibited; there being so many things prohibited, that it is difficult even for the most sensible and experienced Merchants to distinguish what may, and what may not be imported. But supposing a Merchant may escape from all These, what Security and Defence has he against *Design* and *Fraud*; and where this Fraud may be so easily practised, and be so well rewarded; the *Informer*, according to this strict Interpretation, being intitled to the *Moiety of the Ship and Goods*. And I must observe that the more valuable the Cargo, and the better the Ship, the greater would be the Danger; tho' the Publick are under the greatest Obligations to Gentlemen, who deal largely, and who risque their Fortunes in *Trade*.

The *Act of Navigation* was made merely for the Interest and Advancement of *Trade*, to make us a great and flourishing People. It has hitherto had a very good Effect; but if the *Importation of Goods prohibited* (though such Importation be *impossible* to be prevented, and though the *Quantity* of such Goods be never so *small*) shall be construed to give a *Forfeiture of the Ship*, &c. such a Construction must destroy all *Trade*, and make an Act designed for the benefit of Commerce destructive of it.

The first Point in this Act relates to the *Owners* of Shipping; that Ships, which trade *hither* or to the *Colonies*, shall be *English*, and be duly navigated; otherwise they are to be forfeited. This is but reasonable; because the whole is in the Knowledge and Power of the *Owner* of the Ship. He can tell whether his Ship be *English*, and take care that it be duly navigated.

The other Point relates to the *Cargoes* and *Effects*, with which these Ships are laded by the *Owners*; for the *Owners* are the proper and immediate Subjects of *this Provision* as they are of the *former*, they having the Interest, and being the Persons principally concern'd in *Trade*, especially *at the Time* when this Act was made; tho' of late Years Merchants have built Ships, and put them up for *free Traders* to take Freight where they can get it. This Clause, with this Construction, is likewise very reasonable, to compel the *Owners* of Ships to bring Home immediately, and at the first hand, the Product of each respective Country. Where the whole Cargo is the *Merchant's*; to whom the Ship belongs, it must be supposed that he can judge what is or is not within the Prohibition. It is all his *own Act*; and he must answer for the Consequence of his Rashness or Ignorance, if he breaks the Law. But where the Act is *not his own*, there the Reason of the Law ceases; and one would think there should not and could not be a Forfeiture of an *innocent Man's Interest*. The *Goods* indeed prohibited shall be forfeited; but not the *Ship*, unless the *Ship* and *Cargo* belong to the *same Person*. This Distinction reconciles all, and makes the Act reasonable, regular, and consistent. For can it be supposed, when the Act says, *no Goods shall be imported but from the Place of their Growth, &c. under the Forfeiture of the Goods, as also of the Ship*, that this general Proposition has no Limitations? None in Favour of *Trade*, and an *innocent Merchant*? Can it be thought to mean

that the Ship shall be forfeited for a Trifle of *contraband Goods* put aboard *without the Owner's Consent or Privity*? Is it not strongly implied, that the Goods imported, to make a Forfeiture of the Ship, must be a *voluntary Act* in him, who is to forfeit his Interest? Or rather, does it not seem to imply, that the *Ship and all the Cargo* are entirely under the Influence, Power, and Direction of the *Owner*? Can the Act be supposed to mean (I speak with great Deference, not being versed in the Principles and Resolutions of the Law) that an *Importation*, however made, by whomsoever, and let the Quantity imported be never so trifling and insignificant, that This shall create a Forfeiture of a Ship of great Value, and leave the *Owner* to take his Remedy against the *Offender*, who occasioned this Damage? Shall a *common Sailor*, (in Confederacy, perhaps, with an *Officer*, who will be entitled to a *Moiety*) subject Men to the Loss of 20 or 30,000 *l.* and the *Owner* have no other Method of *Reparation*, but to sue and recover their Damage against this *Sailor*? Is this a Satisfaction, an adequate, reasonable and legal Satisfaction? 'Tis indeed a *nominal Remedy*; but not the least real Service and Advantage to the injured Party. I have heard it laid down as a Rule by some Gentlemen of the *long Robe*, that all penal Laws are to be construed *strictly*, and that Laws, which favour *Trade*, shall be *liberally* construed. Why should this Forfeiture be extended farther than the *Goods prohibited*? As they made the Offence, they should make *Reparation* for that Offence. The Forfeiture of them is given in the first Place, as the Act directs, for being imported *contrary to the true Intent and Meaning* of it. Then follows the Forfeiture of the *Ship*, if the *Owner* be guilty of acting contrary to the *Intent* of this Law; for I must contend that he ought to be punished only upon a Supposition that the Offence was committed by *Him*, either *actually*, by an *Importation* of such Goods; or *virtually*, by a *Permission* and *Connivance*. If the

Owner

Owner of the Ship be either way guilty, let him suffer the utmost Extremity and Rigour of the Law; but don't let him suffer for what he cannot help, and where he may be so easily undone and ruined. But if This were not the natural and true Meaning of these Words, as they seem plainly to me to be, yet I am informed that we have an old Law in *Edward the Third's* Time, which is founded on the Nature and Reason of *Trade*, and expressly determines this Point as to Goods, that have *not paid*, tho' it does not extend literally to *Goods prohibited*.

The Words are, as I find them among the old Statutes, *Whereas the Ships of diverse People of the Realm be arrested and holden forfeit because of a little Thing put in their Ship not custom'd; whereof the Owners of the same Ships be ignorant; It is accorded and assented, that no Owner shall lose his Ship for such a small Thing put within the Ship not custom'd, without his Knowledge.*

This, I take it, is only a Declaration of one of the Principles of *natural Equity*, and Part of the *Law-Merchant* between the Prince and the Subject, and is indeed no more than is and must be necessarily implied in all general Laws relating to *Trade*. It is the Foundation of *Commerce*, it is the Faith we pledge to *Foreigners*, who deal with us, and our own Security to have that full Benefit and Extent in *TRADE*, on which all our *Wealth and Grandeur* entirely depend.

O.

I am, Yours,

A. B.



To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

SIR,

I Have, with a good deal of Attention, read a Piece, just published, intituled, *A Defence of the Observations on the Assiento Trade, as it hath been exercised by the S. S. Company, &c.* in which I expected that the Author would have taken more notice, than he has done, of the severe *Reflection*, which his Antagonist has thrown on all his *Brother Factors* and *Agents* abroad, his *Partner* only excepted. But since he has not been so full on that head, as I could wish, I must entreat you to give This a Place in your Journal, in Vindication of *those Gentlemen*; several of whom I know to be honest Men, and I believe have served the *Company* with great Fidelity.

The *Factor*, as he calls himself, (to shew how much he exceeds all others, who are employed by the *Company*, and to raise a Monument of Praise and Grandeur to his *beloved Self*) thrusts in Mr. *Pratter*, as a Man of Fortune, and says that *there lives not an honest Man, nor a more faithful Servant*. Whether Mr. P. will thank him for making this Use of his Name, I am not able to determine; especially when he considers that this Author's principal Intention therein, is to magnify his own Name and Character. For we find, by his Account, that Mr. P. always concurred with him in Opinion. Ergo, If there lives not an *abler Servant* than Mr. P. how happy are the *Company* in the Man, who pretends to be his *Director*.

The *Factor*, it seems, could not raise himself but on the Ruin of his *Brethren*, whom he insinuates to be *faithless* and *unskilful* People; for in Page 63 he says, *If the Company had all such Servants as Mr. Pratter*,

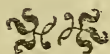
ter, he would take upon him to say, that the Negroe Trade alone would be a profitable one to the Company as well as to the Nation. Perhaps he may reply, that he has not expressly excluded all the rest of the *Factors*; true; but that Non-Exclusion might certainly have been supplied by mentioning several more honest Men amongst them.

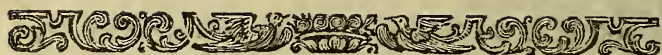
But, if the Trade would be *more beneficial*, with all such faithful and able Men as Mr. Pratter, and it is now acknowledged to be the Reverse; then it must be owing to the Want of Fidelity or Unskilfulness of the *Factors*; at least of the Majority of them. If he thus arraigns all the *Factors*, to shew that if they were all his *Homagers*, like Mr. P. they might be *honest Fellows*, and he has only Them to account with; yet, if there be Truth in this Assertion, and the Contract is a *national Contract*, as he insinuates, then this Writer is not only the *Company's* but the *Nation's* Servant; and it would have discovered Sentiments of *Fidelity* in him, to have shewn by what Means the *Nation*, as well as the *Company*, have been such great *Losers*. But perhaps he has given this Hint, in order to have such foul Practices detected; and therefore it is to be hoped that a *seasonable Enquiry* will be made into such *Mismanagement*, and *Corruption*, as are pointed at by this *Author*.

O.

*I am, Your constant Reader,**And humble Servant,*

R. FRIENDLY.





N^o 92. SATURDAY, *April 6, 1728.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

IN the Kingdom of *Timbutam*, in the *Per-*
sian Empire, there sprung up, about a Cen-
 tury ago, two powerful, contending Par-
 ties, which gave great Opposition to the
 Government of that Country. They were
 early distinguished by the several Names of the *Noodles*
 and the *Numsculs*. Though both these Parties seemed
 to have the *publick Good* equally in *View*, yet they main-
 tained an implacable Hatred against each other, con-
 cerning the *Means*. The *Noodles* valued themselves
 chiefly on Principles of *civil Liberty*, and professed an
 open Abhorrence of all Kind of *Tyranny* and *arbitrary*
Power. The *Numsculs*, on the other hand, were great
 Assertors of *Religion* and of the Rights of *those Persons*,
 who devoted themselves to the Service of the Deity.
 They likewise maintained that the Power of the Prince
 was *Jure Divino*, in opposition to the *Noodles*, who
 founded it only on *Compact* or *Agreement*. From
 hence proceeded mutual Reproaches. The *Numsculs*
 charged the *Noodles* with being Favourers of *Irreligion*
 and *Anarchy*; and the *Noodles* represented the *Numsculs*
 as Friends to *Slavery* and *Superstition*; but both un-
 justly; for the *Numsculs* shewed, on several Occasions,
 that they disliked *Oppression* and *Bigotry* as much as the
Noodles; and the *Noodles*, in like manner, proved
 themselves to be no Enemies to a *settled Form of Go-*
vernment, both in Church and State, though of a dif-
 ferent

ferent Model, in some unessential Points, from That of the *Numsculs*.

As to their private Characters, the *Noodles* were generally esteemed a stubborn, resolute Set of Men, of great political Cunning and Penetration; whereas the *Numsculs* were an open, generous, free-spirited People, not without good Sense, Courage and Integrity, though somewhat unskilled in sæcular Affairs. All Persons therefore of a sanguine, active Disposition joined the *former*; and Those of a more indolent, passive Temper attached themselves to the *latter*.

These growing Parties, for some Time, alternately prevailed; and whenever the *Numsculs* were in play, they bore such Fidelity to each other, that none but true and faithful *Numsculs* were advanced to Offices and Preferments, either of a *civil* or *religious* Nature. But when the *Noodles* were in Power, it was very much the Reverse; for they condescended to admit some *Numsculs* into Places, to prevent their grumbling, being contented with holding the principal Reins of Government in their own Hands. But This proved of dangerous and almost fatal Consequence to the *Noodles*; for the *Numsculs* in Office were nevertheless always ready to asperse their *Noodle* Patrons; and having a Prince on the Throne, who was always somewhat inclinable to espouse their Cause, quite routed the *Noodles*, and governed the Kingdom for several Years together.

But on the Demise of this Prince, which was somewhat unexpected, the *Noodles* prevailed once more, and no sooner found themselves in a settled Possession of Power, but they began to make Reprizals, by venting their Resentment against the whole Party of the *Numsculs*; who being strongly represented as Enemies to the *new Government*, were not only discarded, but treated by the *Noodles* as *Rebels* and *Traytors*. This Usage of the *Numsculs* in general, whether justly or not is nothing to the Purpose, gave them great Umbrage.

brage. As they were thus malevolently aspersed, *without Distinction*, they were to the last Degree exasperated, and resolved to bear no longer the reproachful Character of *Rebels*, without deserving it. Great Numbers of them actually appeared in Arms and espoused the Cause of a Pretender to the Crown. They were likewise said to have formed several Plots and Conspiracies; but they had no other Effect than to serve the Cause of the *Noodles*; who, more by their *Policy* than *Strength*, soon stopt the Progress of the *Numsculs*. They beheaded some and banished and imprisoned others, and thus maintained the Possession of that Government, which was their Support.

But in course of Time some *Noodles*, of low Capacity and Genius, though of great Conceit and Assurance, stepped into Power, on the Death of several *able Noodle Ministers*, and carried things to a very great and dangerous Extream. They admitted none but Zealots of narrow inferior Understandings, like themselves, into the Administration; so that the *Noodles* of *Sense* and *Ability*, as well as the *Numsculs*, exclaimed against the impolitic and pernicious Conduct of the *Noodles* at the Helm; and heartily united their Endeavours to root out those *foolish Noodles*, who had thus usurped and engrossed the Government to themselves.

These increasing Contentions gave Birth to another Sett of Persons, called by the Name of *Tamquams*, who were not, as it seems, either *Noodles* or *Numsculs*, but an *impartial, moderate* Race of Men, who condemned all the Follies and bad Actions both of the *Noodles* and the *Numsculs*. Most of them indeed had formerly passed under one of these Denominations; but being convinced, by Experience, that they had been made the Tools and Properties of their respective Leaders, they resolved to renounce these idle Distinctions, and judge of *Things*, instead of *Names*, for the future.

At the Head of these Men appeared, at first, *two very eminent, learned, and honest Noodles*; who being greatly and justly discontented at some late Measures, led them on in Opposition with great Vigour, Judgment and Integrity; and to make a powerful Match for these *Noodles*, two renegade *Numsculs*, of great Skill and Knowledge in *State Politicks* and the *Law*, were entertained by the *Noodle Ministers*. But this Management being resented on both Sides, and Things clashing still more and more, the *Noodle Government* was forced to resort to private Sollicitations; and, by the Dint of all-powerful Money, some of the most strenuous *Opposers* of the Government were, at length, brought over to be the greatest *Sticklers* for it.

Though the honest Zeal of the *Tamquams* was thus, in a great measure, frustrated by publick Authority or private Interposition; yet they did not cease, upon all just Occasions, to exhibit their Complaints; in which they were seconded by the general Voice and Affections of the People, whom nothing could appease but the Removal and Downfal of the *corrupt Prime-Minister Noodle*; to prevent the Approach of which, he made it his constant Endeavour to continue the old ridiculous Distinctions of the *Noodles* and the *Numsculs*. He likewise practiced *Legerdemain*, in order to impose on shallow Understandings, and turned *Conjurer* and *Ambidexter*, and then *Mountebank*, prescribing infallible, *Golden-Specifics*; but as he was always a whimsical Practitioner, and his Remedies were not regularly dispensed, (some being made *drunk* and *intoxicated* with them, whilst others were not *merry*) all Persons of sound Judgment, called Him no other than an *Emperick*; till, on a Time, he drew open his Purse in a Passion, and permitted every one around Him to put in his Hand; upon which, He, who was before reputed the greatest *Bungler* that ever was in Power, was now esteemed the ablest Politician in the Universe; and having thus found out the Art of administering
State-

State-Physick, He secured himself, for some Time, at the Head of publick Affairs, by laying heavy *Taxes* and *Burthens* on the People; who, at last, paid very dear for their Attachment and Credulity.

Thus Affairs continued for some time, till the Complaints and Cries of the People, which were now grown almost universal, reached the Court, and pierced the Ears of a most indulgent Prince; who finding Himself abused, as well as his Subjects, by the infamous Management of this grand *political Juggler*, exerted the proper Resentment of a great, wise and injured King. He stript Him at once of all his Power; and, to the Joy and Ease of the whole Nation, seized on his immense ill-gotten Wealth for the Publick Use. Upon which, says my Author, the subsequent Part of his Reign was as easy and glorious as That of any of his Predecessors. His Ministers, awed with this Example, acted with Caution and Integrity; and the former Animosities of contending Parties were buried in the undistinguished Loyalty and Affection of all his People.

Having lately met with this short Narrative of the *Factions* and *corrupt Government* of the Kingdom of *Timbutam*, in a very curious and learned Treatise of the Politicks of the *Persian Empire*, said to be written by our excellent Countryman Sir *John Marsham*, I thought it proper to be communicated to you, that by printing it, in your Paper, the Publick may see the great Advantages. which we particularly reap in this Nation, by the Happiness of our Constitution, beyond those distant and ill-govern'd Kingdoms, where CORRUPTION only is the Foundation of POWER.

G. A.

I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

TAMQUAM.

From

From my own Chambers.

A *Writer*, of little Reputation, is somewhat like a *common Beggar*; for if you are charitably disposed to take notice of Him *once*, He will certainly teize you *again*. This is, at present, my Case, with respect to a *declining Brother Journalist*. The poor Man hath been very importunate with me, for several Months, to give Him a kind Lift, by answering his little dull Sophistries and dirty Reflections; but finding all his Endeavours to be in vain, He was resolved to provoke me to it, if possible, by misrepresenting a *Point*, of the greatest Importance, in the most gross and palpable Manner. This, which seemed to be his last Shift, had its Effect, and prevailed upon me, (partly out of good Nature, and partly out of *Justice to the Publick*) to expose his *wretched Fallacies*, by giving a short State of that Affair in my Paper of the 23d of last Month. Upon This he begins to triumph, and pleads very movingly and scurrilously for another good Turn of the same Nature, though He hath left me but little farther to say; for He hath so fully confuted Himself, that, if I were not well acquainted with his great Talent at Absurdities, I should imagine that he wrote *booby*, and designed ironically to expose *Those*, whom he pretends to justify.

I shall therefore be very short with him and hope that he will not expect any farther Notice, till better Reasons deserve it.

The Debt in 1716, (as He states it Himself) was—
53 m, 743.438 l. 19 s. since which Time the Income of the *Sinking Fund* hath amounted to 6 m, 648,762 l. 5 s. 1 d. which, (if regularly applied, as it was appropriated; or if no new Debt had been incurred *since that Time*) would have reduced the Debt, as stated in 1716, to 47 m, 094,676 l. 14 s. 5 d. whereas, according to his own Account, the present Debt amounts to 51 m,
022,665 l.

022,665*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* and consequently it follows either that 2*m*, 720,773*l.* 18*s.* only has been applied, as it ought to have been out of the *sinking Fund* towards paying off the National Debt at 1716. Or else that a *new Debt* of 3*m*, 927,988*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* has been contracted since that time; unless he will allow that this Sum has been sunk or misapplied. I shall leave him to make his Choice.

If to this *new Debt* there is added the *Million Civil List* Debt, with the Deficiencies of the Malt and Land Tax for the Year 1726 and 1727, which cannot be reckoned less than 500,000*l.* the incurred or increased Debt since 1716 is no less than 5*m*, 427,988*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

And since I am not convinced by his Reasons, that the 3*m*, 155,858*l.* given to purchase the long Annuities, ought to be added to the Debt before 1716, I think I am at liberty, till I see better Authority, to make it a Part of the increased Debt *since* that time; by which it amounts to 8*m*, 583,846*l.* And if he will inform himself, from the next Writing-Master, what is the Difference between making a Debt *decreased* 2*m*, 720,773*l.* instead of *increased* 8*m*, 583,846*l.* (as the Case stands by his own Account) he shall, without contradiction from me, continue to enjoy the Pleasure of triumphing over the Errors of others in *Tens of Millions*, till the just Contempt of his Readers makes him sensible of his Mistakes.

I am glad to find that He hath the Modesty to give up the Point as to the true Cause of the Loss of the *Danish Liberties*; though if it had been as He represented it, I cannot see for what purpose it was mentioned; unless to insinuate that because the People of *Denmark* run into unreasonable Animosities about *their Debts*, therefore we ought never to make any Enquiry into *ours*, lest we should be as mad as *they*, and by an impertinent Care for the Preservation of our *Properties*, run the Hazard of deservedly losing all our *Liberties*. But since my Antagonist is pleased not to
insist

insist on this Point, I shall say no more about it, and am not without Hopes of seeing him give up some *others*, where he cannot pretend to lay the Blame on his *Memory*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE following Memorial, inscribed on a large Marble Pillar, was lately found amongst some Ruins at *Whitehall*. It is supposed to have been formerly fixed there, by Order of King *Henry VIII.* when Cardinal *Wolsey* fell under Disgrace, and seems to bear some Allusion to a most *fulsome* and *insolent Inscription*, which the Cardinal himself caused to be put on the *Foundation-stone* of that sumptuous Palace, in the Madness of his Prosperity.—I am much obliged to the Gentleman, who communicated it to me, and doubt not that it will prove an agreeable Entertainment to *some* of my Readers, as I hope it will be a Warning to *others*.

In perpetuam Infamiae Memoriam
Thomæ Wolfæi,

*Qui summâ Rerum fraudulenter potitus,
Et nefastissimo Peculatûs Genio indulgens,*

Hæc ades, satis superbas,

Reipublicæ sumptibus extruxit.

Divitiarum, Ambitionis, Laudis & Vituperii satur;

Subdolus, insolens, rapax;

Orator volubilis, haud facundus;

At quicquid Veritate, vel Eloquentiâ defuit,

Inconcussus verborum Copiâ suppeditavit.

Prædo purpureus;

Perfricatâ Fronte potentissimus.

Patriâ, propriis artibus oneratâ,

Summam inter Tranquillitatem, sumptibus Belli languescente,

Seipsum, suosque solos

Naufragio publico ditescentes vidit.

Hostem temerarius provocavit;

Idemque Pacem imploravit inglorius;

Dum invictissimo vindicias Populo,

Amicorum aequè ac Inimicorum Præda,

(Commercio, Gloriâque Reipublica perituris,)
Iniquis Conventionibus negavit.
Honorum perinde ac scelerum cumulatissimus,
Tum Principi, tum Populo meritò invisus,
Mole jam tandem ruebat suâ,
Plusque in adversis Rebus Timiditatis prodidit,
Quam in secundis induerat Arrogantiæ.
Abi, viator aulice; disce; cave.

R.



N^o 93. SATURDAY, April 13, 1728.



Shall take the Liberty to entertain the Publick this Week with two Letters on such important Subjects of Trade, that I believe they will be candidly received by all the *mercantile* Part of my Readers.

To These I have subjoined a Translation of the *Memorial*, published in our last, upon Cardinal WOLSEY; which I was induced to attempt in *English* Verse, upon being informed that many of my courteous Readers, particularly the fair Ladies of *Great Britain*, (who have a great Regard for the Liberties of their Country, but do not understand the heathenish *Latin* Language) were very desirous of seeing this Inscription translated into their *Mother Tongue*, for their Use, and the publick Emolument.

My learned Readers will observe, that I have taken some Latitude in the Version, though I made it my principal Care not to depart from the Sense and Spirit; and indeed the *Roman* Language is so strong and masculine, that there is no expressing it in *English* without a *Periphrasis*.

To

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,

Batson's Coffee-house.

THE Letter you were pleased to oblige the World with last Saturday, upon the *Navigation Act*, has given us great Satisfaction; and if the Law be *doubtful* in that Point, it is probable that the Legislature will *declare and fix the Sense of it*, that an *innocent honest Merchant* may not be ruined by Frauds, impossible to be prevented by him. If prohibited Goods put aboard a Ship, without the *Owner's Knowledge*, shall be construed to make a Forfeiture of the Ship, and if the *Owner* can have no other Remedy but suing the Person, who brought them aboard, what Merchant will ever be concerned in Shipping? Where then will be your Sailors? And what will become of your *Navy*, the present Terror of the World?

If therefore the Law be *doubtful*, the Legislature, in so important a Point, will certainly *declare* the Meaning of the Act, and prevent Merchants from being harrassed with *Prosecutions*. I am afraid that the Fraud, complain'd of, as lately practis'd by a *Custom-House Officer*, is a *growing Evil*, and that the Precedent is catching; for I have heard it exceedingly well attested, that when a Ship, but the other Day, was just ready to sail from *Holland*, four Packs of brown Paper were sent aboard; but by some Accident, and great good Fortune to the Owner of the Ship, the Strings of one of the Packs broke, and out dropt a Canister full of *Tea*. If this Discovery had not been made, the Ship, in all Probability, had been seized and prosecuted for a Forfeiture, *Tea* being prohibited to be imported from *Holland*. At this rate no Merchant, whose Fortune and Estate lies in Shipping, can pretend to take in Goods. Frauds cannot be prevented; for an *India Handkerchief*, or an Ounce of *Tea* from *Holland*, or any part of *Europe*, will

make a Forfeiture. The Merchant, upon this Account, at the best, is liable to be *prosecuted*, and so put in fear, and made *dependant*; by which Means *Trade* is fetter'd; which ought, by all possible Methods, to be encouraged.

O.

I am yours,

C.D.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq*;

S I R,

YOUR kind Reception of my former Letter gives me Hopes that This will meet with the same Favour; especially since it is on a *Subject* of so great Importance to the Nation, as well as to the *Proprietors* of the *South-Sea Company*.

Though it must be allowed that the Author of the *Defence* of the *Observations, on the Assiento Trade*, has fairly confuted his Opponent, in several Particulars; yet, in some Points, he treats him with great Tenderness, and seems unwilling to take all the Advantage, which he has over him in *Facts* as well as *Argument*. What were that Writer's Motives to so much *Lenity*, after such Provocation as he met with, I will not take upon me to determine. But, methinks an Affair of this Consequence requires the Inspection and Consideration of every Man, who has any Regard for the Interest of his Country; especially when it is considered, that the *Difficulties*, which have so long retarded the Opening of the Congress, and composing of the Differences of *Europe*, are said to be owing to some *contraband Trade*, carried on in the *Company's* Vessels.

It may perhaps be still insisted on, that all these Insinuations are malicious and groundless; and that

no.

no such Trade has been so much as attempted. But what Dependance is then to be had on the Assertions of their *Advocate*, who seems to value himself so much on his *Veracity* and *Integrity* in the Service of the *Company*? For he has furnished their *Adversaries* with a Voucher, if they had no other, by giving his own Testimony of the Truth of them in his Pamphlet, entitled, *An Answer to a Calumny, &c.* "Page 22. " *Where he says, that for about two Years of this last* " *Opening of the Affiento, the Company's Agents at* " *Jamaica, being fully provided with Slaves, did there-* " *with carry on as great an Extent of Trade with* " *the Spaniards, as ever the private Traders did in* " *the like time, in Negroes and European dry Goods* " *both together, and returned as much Bullion to Bri-* " *tain."* Which Words, I think, are not capable of those *Alleviations*, which some Mistakes are, into which a Man may sometimes innocently fall through Inadvertence or Misinformation; but is concerning a Fact, which, as Agent to the Company, He asserts of his own Knowledge; and therefore if he be that just and faithful Servant to the Company, which he so modestly describes himself to be, the best Atonement he can make to the Nation, as well as to the Proprietors, for some palpable Errors, which are scattered throughout his Piece, is to detect the Parties therein concerned, and the secret Methods of carrying on such a pernicious and fraudulent Trade; in which, as BRITAIN and the COMPANY are equally concern'd, I am very glad he has given this Hint to a MINISTER, and a SUB-GOVERNOR, who are watchful for their respective Interests and Safety, that such Practices as These may not be silently pass'd over, but be better look'd to hereafter, and prevented.

I congratulate the Company on having so useful and sufficient an *Advocate*; and cannot doubt that when they have coolly and deliberately reviewed the Defence of the Observations, &c. as well as the Answer to a

Calumny, and compared them together, they will be confirmed in their *former Opinions*, and not only repeat their *Vote of Thanks*, but think him highly deserving of their Countenance and *farther Favours*.

R.

I am, Sir,

April 5th,
1728.

*Your constant Reader,**And humble Servant,*

R. FRIENDLY.

The Inscription on Cardinal WOLSEY, translated into English.

THIS Monument, consign'd to latest Times,
 Stands to perpetuate WOLSEY's daring Crimes;
 Who long, by wicked Arts, of Power possess'd,
 (The Lust of *Plunder* raging in his Breast)
 Rais'd this Imperial Dome, more *vain* than *wise*,
 Amidst the Widow's Tears and Orphan's Cries;
 With * boundless Wealth and wild Ambition cloy'd,
 He Fame alike and Infamy enjoy'd;
 † Rapacious, guileful, insolent of Heart,
 He vainly boasted *Ciceronian Art*.
 His poor fallacious, tinsel ELOQUENCE
 Tickled the Ear, but ne'er inform'd the Sense;
 Whilst every plausible Harangue affords
 A specious, empty, puzzling Rote of Words.

* *Echard* says, that his *annual Incomes* equall'd, if not exceeded the Revenues of the CROWN. See his *History*, Vol. I. pag. 633.

† See the same Author concerning his *Methods of amassing RICHES by racking the PEOPLE*, Vol. I. pag. 636.

Vers'd

Vers'd in the Art of LYING, from his Youth,
 His Genius scorn'd the mean Restraints of Truth.
 Good-Nature, Reason, Argument and Sense
 Were all supply'd with shameless IMPUDENCE;
 A PURPLE Robber; who, for impious Gain,
 Saw his poor Country bleed through every Vein;
 And though in PEACE, as He himself confess'd,
 With all the Miseries of a WAR oppress'd;
 Whilst his voracious Tribe grew fat with Spoil,
 And flourish'd on the Shipwreck of our Isle;
 Rash to provoke, and yet afraid of War;
 He sued for Peace with Bribes and Sordidness of Prayer;

Thus to a PEOPLE, long in Camps renown'd,
 With never-fading Wreaths and Trophies crown'd,
 The just Revenge of Arms, which Heaven supply'd,
 By base, inglorious Treaties He deny'd,
 Saw their old Honor and their Trade decay,
 To * *Friends* and *Foes*, by Turns, a despicable Prey.

At length grown full of † TITLES, full of CRIMES,
 The Scandal, Curse and Grievance of the Times,
 Abhorr'd by all, suspected by the Crown,
 By his own Weight He rush'd impetuous down;
 Soon as He fell, with abject Fears dismay'd,
 He all the Coward, all the Wretch betray'd,

* It is well known that he took Pensions from several foreign Princes, particularly from the *Emperor* and the *French King*, and alternately involved this Nation in expensive Wars with those Princes, as his own *Interest* or *Passion* guided him.

† He was one of the greatest *Engrossers* of those Times; being Bishop of *Tournay*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, and Archbishop of *York*; with which he held the Bishopricks of *Winchester* and *Durham*, and the Abby of *St. Albans* in *commendam*, and the Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, in *Farm*. Besides all these, He was a *Cardinal*, and *Legate à Latere* from the Pope, *Lord High Chancellor* of *England*, and had monopolized the Disposal of ALL the *Ecclesiastical Benefices*, and most of the civil *Offices*, *Honors* and *Preferments*. See *Echard*, Vol. I. pag. 363.

More Meanness shew'd, a more dejected Mind,
 Than Insolence before, when unconfin'd,
 And, his own Will the Law, he triumph'd o'er Man-
 kind. }

Attend, ye Courtiers, though with Power elate;
 Be warn'd by his Example, shun his Fate. D.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

WHEREAS P—ll—y P—ch—m hath of late received innumerable Letters of Love and Gallantry from all Quarters of the Town, This is to give Notice, that the Week after Easter, she designs to have them printed by Subscription, with the Names of the Authors, in two neat Pocket Volumes. The Price to Subscribers is Two Guineas. But if any Gentlemen are apprehensive that their Amours should come to the Ears of their Wives, and endanger their own; or are fearful that their Passion or False-spelling should be exposed to the Publick, they may be excused upon the following Terms;

For a Lord Ten Guineas; but if he have a Place or Pension regularly paid, it must be Twenty.

For a Baronet, if he be married, Eight.

For a Citizen, Six.

For a Toupée, within the Precincts of Pall-Mall, Three.

For all Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, provided they be under five and twenty, Half a Guinea.

Attendance is given, twice a Week, behind the Scenes, where Subscriptions are taken in, and Hush-money received.

N. B. The Books will be in French Binding, gilt and letter'd on the Back; and Those, who would have her Works in Sheets, must make a particular Bargain.

N^o 94. SATURDAY, *April 20,* 1728.

THE Publick is, at length, obliged with a good Translation of the *Annals of Tacitus*; and the other Parts of his Works are promised from the same Hand; a Book, which ought to be read by every Subject of a *free State*, as it gives us the best Account of the Methods, by which the *Liberty* of the *Roman Commonwealth* was destroyed, and naturally tends to put us upon our Guard against the most distant Attempts of the like Practices. To this Work the *Translator* hath prefixed several excellent Discourses on *political Subjects*, in Vindication of his Author, or arising from the Tenour of his History; in which he maintains the true Spirit of an honest *Briton* and of an able and judicious Writer, without any apparent Regard to Times, Parties or Persons. He seems to look on it as the Mark of a little Genius to prostitute so noble a Work; or direct his Observations to any other Ends than the Illustration of his Author; the Cause of Liberty and the general Good of Mankind; as appears by his Discourses on the *Freedom of Speech or Writing*; on *Informers, Witnesses* and several infamous Methods of Prosecution, by perverting Law and common Justice; on *Courts, Ministers, Flattery* and *Standing Armies*. But I chuse to give my Readers a Specimen of this Work in the following, little Essays, concerning the *Corruption* and *Debasement* of the ROMAN SENATE.

Discourse

Discourse VII. Sect. XI.

Why, under such Tyrants, the Senate continued to subsist.

“ **I**T may be enquired why Tyrants, so jealous and
 “ precipitate, did not abolish the *Senate*; and it
 “ was once the Purpose of CALIGULA, as it was af-
 “ terwards That of NERO, to have murdered all the
 “ *Senators*. But, in Truth, it would have been an
 “ Enterprize of infinite Difficulty and Danger, to
 “ have attempted the Suppression of that Body. It
 “ is incredible what Stubbornness and Force there is
 “ in *established Names, Customs and Forms*, which
 “ often are harder to destroy than *Realities and Sub-*
 “ *stances*; and *Signs and Titles* frequently remain,
 “ when the *Things* signified and denominated by them
 “ are gone. Thus *Popery* has extirpated Christianity,
 “ and is called Christianity; and evangelical Humility
 “ and Forbearance are preached and extolled in the
 “ midst of Pride and Flames.

“ As the *Popes* pretend to derive all Power from
 “ the Gospel, which they pervert and suppress, so
 “ did the other *Roman Tyrants* theirs from the *Senate*;
 “ as if the antient free State had still subsisted; *tan-*
 “ *quam vetere Republica*; and to have destroyed the
 “ *Senate*, would have been to have abrogated their
 “ own Title to Sovereignty. They must likewise have
 “ destroyed the *Consulship*, which was still reckoned
 “ *summum Imperium*, the supreme Magistracy, with
 “ the Office of *Prator*, and every Office great and
 “ small in the State, with the Title and Stile of every
 “ Law of *Rome*, and every Tribunal of Justice there;
 “ for, every Law and every Office depended upon the
 “ *Senate*, or upon the *Senate* and People. They must
 “ have abolished Learning, History, Records, all Pro-
 “ cesses and Memory; nay, the very military Titles,
 “ and Laws of War and Negotiation; Those about
 “ the Colonies and Provinces, Customs and Trade,
 “ and have introduced absolute Oblivion, a new Lan-
 “ guage and a new Creation.

“ Now

“ Now what Power, what Genius upon Earth was
“ equal to such a prodigious Design ; That of vacating
“ at once Regulations and Usages so infinitely nume-
“ rous, so long established, become a great Part of the
“ publick Language, grown as it were to the Minds
“ and Memories of Men, and essential to Speech and
“ Conversation, as well as to Business and Protection ;
“ and then to supply such an immense Void with
“ Ordinances, Offices, Terms and Manner of Process,
“ so as to answer all the Ends of Society in so vast an
“ Empire ? This was not to be done, nor was it
“ needful. They found their Account sufficiently in
“ breaking the *Power* and *Spirit* of the *Senate* ; in re-
“ ducing it to a *Skeleton* and a *Name* ; and in exer-
“ cising, under that Name, all their own *Violences* and
“ *Exorbitances*. The *Senate of the People* had a ve-
“ nerable Sound, and served as a Cloak for Power,
“ when they themselves had none, and the Emperor
“ had all ; *cuncta Legum & Magistratum in se trahens*
“ *Princeps*. The registering of Edicts by the Parlia-
“ ment of *Paris* is become a Matter of *Form* ; but,
“ without that Form, the Court, as uncontrouled as
“ it is, does not care to execute an Edict. The Ro-
“ mans still preserved a Veneration for their *Senate*
“ and *Magistrates* ; and the same was often found in
“ the *Armies* ; insomuch that, as late as the Reign of
“ COMMODUS, the Soldiers were so enraged at the In-
“ solence of PERENNIS, his *Favourite* and *Minister*, for
“ discharging from their military Commands such as
“ were *Patricians* and *Senators*, and for placing in their
“ Room others of *Equestrian* Rank, that they cut
“ him in Pieces.

“ TIME however, with the Continuance of Ty-
“ ranny and Barbarity, its inseparable Companion,
“ cancell'd by Degrees the *old Names* and *Forms*, after
“ the *Essence* had been long cancelled ; and introduced
“ a Cloud of *Offices* and *Words*, of rumbling Sounds, and
“ swelling Titles, suitable to the Genius of absolute
“ Rule,

“ Rule, and as different from the Purity of the old
 “ *Republican Language* as are *Liberty* and *Politeness*
 “ from *Grossness* and *Bondage*.

Discourse VIII. Sect. III.

*The excessive Power of the Imperial freed Slaves ;
 with the scandalous Submission and Honours paid
 them by the Romans.*

“ As *Tyranny* produces abject Fear and Anxiety in
 “ Particulars for themselves, so from this selfish Fear
 “ and Anxiety comes the Beginning and Progress
 “ of universal Servitude, the Extinction of all *Patrio-*
 “ *tism* and honest Zeal, the Power of *Corruption*, and
 “ the Symptoms of a State hastening to Ruin and
 “ Desolation. All the Good or Evil, which could be-
 “ fal any *Roman*, lay wholly in the Breast and Option
 “ of the Prince; and hence the Study of every Man to
 “ humour the Prince, or the Slaves, who governed him ;
 “ for governed he generally was by Slaves the vilest
 “ and most pestilent; yes, the whole Empire, that
 “ Empire, that contained a great Share of the Globe,
 “ and terrified almost the whole, was swayed, fold,
 “ oppressed, and exhausted by Slaves brought from
 “ the Chain and the Oar. CLAUDIUS not only de-
 “ clared that Affairs adjudged by his *Receivers* should
 “ be held equally valid with Those adjudged by *him-*
 “ *self*, but got the same established by a solemn De-
 “ cree of the Senate. Now these *Receivers* of the *Em-*
 “ *peror's* were his *manumised Slaves* ; who under that
 “ Title often governed *Provinces*. He raised the Au-
 “ thority of these Vermin to a Pitch equal with That
 “ of the Sovereign and the Laws. FELIX, Governor
 “ of *Judea*, was a *freed Slave*, the Husband of three
 “ Queens, and the Brother of PALLAS, another *freed*
 “ *Slave*, who controuled the Emperor, lay with the
 “ Empress, and was Master of the Empire ; so that
 “ NERO said pertinently of him, when he turned him
 “ out of Office, that PALLAS went to abdicate the
 “ Sovereignty. “ Behold

“ Behold the Debasement of the great and venerable *Roman* Senate! It is not enough that they flatter the *Emperor*, and heap upon him *Powers* and *Honours* so great and manifold, that at last they have none for themselves, hardly any for him. They must likewise adore, and enrich, and exalt the *Fugitives* and *Off-scourings* of the Earth, *Insects* naturally doomed to the vilest Offices of the Kitchen, Stable and Privies. The *Romans*, Lords of the World, must put their Necks under the Feet of the Dregs of human Race. For a contemptible Project of that same *PALLAS*, about punishing Ladies who married Slaves, *BAREAS SORANUS*, Consul elect, the first Magistrate in the *Roman* World, moved the Senate to reward him with the Ornaments of *Prator*, the next civil Office in the State, and a Present of near an hundred thousand Pounds. To this Motion it was added by *CORNELIUS SCIPIO*, that *PALLAS* should have publick Thanks,—that He, *who was descended from the old Kings of Arcadia*, should to the Service of the Publick thus postpone That his antient Nobility, and deign to be reckoned amongst the *Emperor's Ministers*. But *CLAUDIUS* averred that *PALLAS* would rest content with the Honours of the *Pratorship*, and rejecting the Present, chuse to live in his usual Poverty. The Decree passed, was engraved in Brass, and publicly hung up; a pompous Decree, in which a Fellow, lately a *bare-footed Slave*, now worth near eight Millions, was magnify'd for observing the laudable Self-denial and Parsimony of the primitive Ages. Observe the strange Inversion of all Order and Sense! Dignity debased; Infamy exalted. How low the awful Authority of the Senate descended! How vilely the Function of a Consul prostituted! How ignominiously the glorious Name of *SCIPIO* employed! How abominably the Ornaments of Magistracy defiled! An Ordinance of State big with Ser-

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“ virtue and Lyes! What Stupidity in the Emperor,
 “ what Insolence in the Slave, and what a melancholy
 “ Failure of all Virtue, Truth and Liberty amongst
 “ all Degrees of Men! It was, in Truth, a Compliment
 “ made to a *Slave*, by a Body of *Slaves*, as *Pliny* well
 “ observes. We may guess at the *Villany* and *evil*
 “ *Deeds* of the Man by the *enormous Honours*, that were
 “ paid him; tho’ we had no other Rule or Proof, as
 “ we have Proofs enough. No such violent Court
 “ was ever paid to *SENECA*; and *TIGELLINUS*
 “ had much more Weight and Authority than
 “ *BURRUS*.

“ Real Goodness and Merit beget in all good Men
 “ real Friendship and Affection; and real Affection is
 “ never so loud nor shewy as Affection assumed.
 “ Where we sincerely like and esteem, we are not
 “ afraid of Suspicion in the Person esteemed, nor
 “ spend much Breath and Ceremony to convince him.
 “ But where we are conscious of our own Insincerity,
 “ our Professions are pompous and wordy. It was ab-
 “ solutely impossible that these vile *Upstarts* should
 “ love the *Senate*, or any great Men, great in Blood,
 “ or Fortune, or Virtue; or that the *Senate*, or any great
 “ *Roman* could love such vile *Upstarts*. But we see
 “ what Disguises Fear and Falshood can put on! Im-
 “ partial Posterity, which neither fears the *Senate* nor
 “ *PALLAS*, can perceive nothing in the Honours by
 “ them conferr’d upon him, but the Infamy of both
 “ perpetuated. Nor was *CLAUDIUS* the only *Emperor*,
 “ who was thus led in Bondage by his *franchised*
 “ *Bondmen*. Others submitted to the same Vassa-
 “ lage, to the same infamous Counsellors. *Plerique*
 “ *principes* (says *Pliny*) *libertorum erant servi; horum*
 “ *consiliis, horum nutu regebantur*. Was not the
 “ World finely governed, and human Kind completely
 “ happy, when the universal Lord was sway’d by
 “ the Lust and Nod of Creatures just redeemed from
 “ the Infamy of *Whips* and *Fetters*? The mighty

CAESAR,

“ CÆSAR, to whom the *Romans* owed all their en-
 “ suing Misery and Bondage, began the Exaltation of
 “ such *Sons of Earth*; and in Contempt of Censure
 “ declared that—— If he had employed *Highwaymen*
 “ and *Assassins* to support his Grandeur, he would in
 “ Return have honoured them with the same Fa-
 “ vour.—— A true Confession; but methinks not
 “ very politick. We have seen already whether his
 “ worthy Successors did not actually do so, and what
 “ were the *Instrumenta Regni*, the bloody Tools and
 “ Machinery of absolute Rule. POLYCLETUS, a ma-
 “ numized Slave of NERO's, when sent by his Master
 “ to inspect the State of *Britain*, travelled with such
 “ an immense Train, that he was a *Burthen* to great
 “ Nations, even Those of *Italy* and *Gaul*.

Discourse VIII. Sect. IV.

The excessive Flattery of the Senate, how ill judged.

“ There was no Mean in the Flattery of the *Senate*.
 “ They might have been *good Courtiers*, without be-
 “ ing so *abandoned Courtiers*. There are Instances of
 “ their carrying *Questions* against the Spirit of the
 “ Court and the Efforts of *Favourites*, in the worst
 “ Reigns. Thus in Spight of all the Power and ca-
 “ balling of *Agrippina* they expelled *Tarquitius*
 “ *Priscus*, a Creature of her's, from the *Senate*, in
 “ Detestation of his base Attack upon the Life of
 “ *Statilius Taurus*, in Subserviency to the *Empress*,
 “ who yearned after the Wealth and fine Gardens of
 “ that illustrious Senator. Thus too, in the Case of
 “ *Antistius* the Prætor, who had composed some vi-
 “ rulent Verses against *Nero*, and exposed them at a
 “ great Entertainment, tho' he was impleaded of Treason
 “ by *Cossutianus Capito*, Son-in-Law to that
 “ powerful Minion *Tigellinus*, and though *Junius*
 “ *Marullus*, the Consul elect, moved that he might
 “ be doomed to die after the rigorous Manner of An-
 “ tiquity; the *Senate* followed the milder Motion of

“ *Thrasea Petus* for *Confiscation* and *Exile*. Nor would
 “ they depart from the Sentence, even after they had
 “ received *Nero’s* Letter about it, though in it he
 “ manifested high Indignation.

“ They might have made some other Efforts of this
 “ Kind, where they made none. On the contrary,
 “ they gave away their *Liberties* and *Voices*, faster
 “ than they could have been taken. But the honest
 “ Boldness of *Thrasea* broke the Bondage, which hung
 “ upon the Minds of others; so much can the Ex-
 “ ample of *one worthy Man* do even in an *Assembly*
 “ devoted to *Corruption* and *Servitude* ! It is true
 “ *Thrasea* paid a severe After-reckoning ; and ’twas
 “ the Apprehension of That, which stopp’d the
 “ Mouths of others, or opened them only to *fawn*.
 “ But who would not chuse the Reputation, and
 “ Integrity of a *Patriot*, That of a *Thrasea*, even at
 “ the Expence of his *Fate*, rather than the Fortune
 “ and Favour of the *Sycophant Vitellius*, with the
 “ *Abjectness of his Life*, and *Infamy of his Name* ?

D.

TO CALEB D’ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

UPON looking over several late *Acts of Grace*
and Indemnity, I find that the remarkable Clan
 of the MAC-GREGORS hath been constantly excepted,
 as *publick Robbers* and *Rapparees*. I must therefore
 submit it to the Wisdom and Consideration of the
 Publick, whether the present mischievous and pre-
 vailing Clan of the MAC-HEATHS ought not to be ex-
 cepted out of all future *Acts of that Nature* for the
 same Reason.

Bo

Be pleased to insert This in your next, and you will highly oblige your constant Reader,

N.

JOHN ENGLISH.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Day is published,

ROBIN's *Panegyrick on HIMSELF and his Co-adjutors at WESTMINSTER. Part the SECOND.*

In which his great Skill in Accounts, and his Dexterity in raising Money and paying Debts are very modestly, and figuratively displayed; with some seasonable Reflections on the Conduct of his Enemies.

To be continued, as Occasion requires. Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster.

N^o 95. SATURDAY, April 27. 1728.

*Curandum imprimis, ne magna Injuria fiat Fortibus
& Miseris.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

SIR,



ALL Men in high Stations have their Enemies, who are ready to suggest, on every Occasion, whatever may tend to lessen their Credit, and render them odious to the Publick; for *Envy*, which is the Shade of Power, will always endeavour to depreciate those Virtues, to which it cannot rise.

This evil Spirit has, with remarkable Virulency, pursued those *worthy Patriots*, who are now in great Authority; but it would be unjust and weak to give ear to the Insinuations of their Detractors.

How often, at the Beginning of this Session, and how confidently has it been reported, that the *national Debts have not been lessened since the Year 1716?* But it is now easy to judge *how far* the Spirit of Calumny went in those Reports.

It was also given out by *Those*, who envied the *moderate Wealth* and *necessary Power* of some at the Helm, that we were to be continued in a *dubious State of Peace or War*, to have a Pretence of continuing *Taxes*, and keeping up *standing Armies*. But the *Event* has proved how little Credit is to be given to such Suggestions.

Again, it was rumour'd that a Bill was designed to be brought into Parliament, for investing the Crown with a Power to *impress Seamen*; and to justify all the Oppressions, which were ever committed by that *illegal and terrible Procedure*. How false and scandalous such a Report is, may be judged by the Characters of the *Gentlemen* now at the Helm; for while the Administration is in the Hands of *Those*, whose greatest Glory it has ever been to restrain the *Prerogative*; who have often wrote, spoke, and even suffered, as They frequently boast, in the defence of *Liberty*; I say, while these Men are at the Head of Affairs, it is not to be conceived that any *Act* should pass, which will deprive a great part of the People of all Pretence to *Liberty*.

If there is a discretionary Power in the Crown to confine a Man for Years, nay for Life, on board a *Ship of War*, will not such a Man give all he has to be released from so severe a Bondage? So that *Liberty* or *Property* must be parted with; and the Choice admits of no Hesitation among *English Men*. If *impressing Men* is allowed to be an inherent Prerogative
in

n the Crown; how must *Magna Charta*, so frequently confirmed, and all the *English Privileges*, which have cost so much Blood and Treasure, be explained?

In King *William's* Time, *impressing* was so much discountenanced, that, on a Tryal before Lord Chief Justice HOLT, the *Press-Gang*, belonging to the Marquis of *Carmarthen's* Ship, was condemned to Death for having kill'd a Man in *attempting to impress him*. That upright Judge said in his Charge, that *impressing* was an *illegal Act*; and that the Persons committing it were guilty of every *ill Consequence* attending it; upon which the Jury found them *guilty of Murder*.

I think I have said enough of the Character of those *honourable Persons*, who now fill the greatest Posts with exemplary Modesty and publick Spirit, to convince the World that they are Patriots too zealous for *Liberty*, ever to authorize *impressing*. It is a Paradox to say that they can ever approve of the Arguments, made use of by the *Tories* in former Reigns, when Sir Roger L'Estrange and the rest of their servile Writers urged, in Defence of *arbitrary Power*, that for the Welfare of the Realm, in time of *great Necessity*, the King might act *beyond Law*, nay *against Law*; and that *Necessity* would justify him in commanding Men to be *impressed*; since it was *forcing* some for the good of all.

But *Those*, who are now in Authority, and who act steadily on *Revolution Principles*, know the Fallacy of this way of reasoning. They know that *no Necessity* can enlarge the *King's Power*; but that the States of the Realm, assembled in *Parliament*, must provide for Cases of *Necessity*; that in Them only is lodged the *absolute Power*; for, if the King, in Cases of *Necessity*, can dispense with *Magna Charta* (which, as I said before, has been so often confirm'd) what hinders, in like Cases, his dispensing with any *other Act*? If he can dispense with *Acts of Parliament*, what must then become of the Liberties of the People?
Those

Those, who are at present entrusted, know this so well, that they will never approve of extending the Power of the *Prerogative*. It is an Absurdity to imagine the contrary. Nay, I'll venture to say, so tenacious are the *English* of their Liberties, that even a *bought Parliament*, if such a Thing were possible in *England*, however *venal* and *obsequious* they might be in other Points, would never be brought to a Compliance in This.

All the Persons employed at present are *honourable Men*; and it cannot enter into our Thoughts, that they will encourage any Bill, which in the Title shall promise *Encouragement to Seamen*, and in the Body shall countenance *Usurers, Ticket-Buyers, Impressing, and Non-Payment of Wages*. Certain it is that such Proceedings can never be set on foot or promoted by the Patriots now at the Helm; for they are known to be *honourable Men*.

As we may rest assured that they will take all possible Care of the *British Fleet*, so we may be satisfied that they will make an honourable Use of the Opportunity, which is now put into their Hands, of discharging the Debt owing to the *Seamen*, under the Head of *Wages*, and paying them *regularly* for the future; since they are too wise not to know, that *prompt Payment* is the only effectual Method to encourage them to enter *voluntarily*; and that while such a *Debt* subsists, the *Seamen* cannot be punctually paid; and when they are not, they will chuse *other Service*.

The *Wisdom* and *Experience* of the above mentioned Guardians of our *Liberties* are so great, that they will certainly never hazard the *British Fleet* by making a Distinction between the Pay of the *impressed Man* and of the *Volunteer*. Their *Prudence* suggests to them that a *Difference in Wages* among Men of the *same Corps*, doing the *same Duty*, can breed nothing but *Mutiny*; and that such *Mutiny*, in time of an *Engagement*, may be attended with Consequences not fit to mention;

mention; which therefore cannot possibly happen while the present *wise and honourable Persons* preside; since they will never give Ear to any *ill-designing or self-interested Projector*, who would be trying Experiments with the *Navy of England*. They can distinguish between *Schemes*, calculated for raising a *private Fortune*, and Those, which have an Eye to the *publick Good*.

They know how *dangerous*, as well as *dishonourable* it would be to attempt the least Hardship on brave Men, who have long groan'd under Oppression, and cannot but remember that trite Saying, *Patientia læsa vertitur in Furorem*.

They know our *Seamen* are *Englishmen*, and are not insensible of the Service they did in joining the immortal Chiefs of the late happy *Revolution*, which has bless'd us with the present illustrious Royal Family; and can never be so ungrateful to those brave Men, who contributed so much towards delivering us all from *Tyranny*, as to endeavour to make them the *only Slaves* in his Majesty's Dominions.

It would be malicious and scandalous to imagine that such *honourable Persons* will suffer the *British Seamen* to be driven away by Oppression, as long as they remain unshaken in their Loyalty, and entrust the royal Navy of *Great Britain* to the precarious Faith of Subjects to *foreign Princes*, who are liable to be called home, when most wanted by us.

I humbly presume that I have fully proved, from the *Wisdom* and *Integrity* of the Persons now employed, that no such thing as an *Act*, distinguishing between *impressed Men* and *Volunteers*, and by those Means countenancing the *Impress*, can pass during their happy Administration; but that, on the contrary, if such a Thing should be *proposed*, we may be persuaded, from the above-mentioned Reasons, that it will be rejected, and that a Method for the *prompt Payment* of their Wages
will

will be substituted in the Place of it, and pursued with inflexible Virtue and Integrity.

R.

I am, SIR,

Your constant Reader,

And humble Servant,

MARINUS.



N° 96. SATURDAY, May 4, 1728.

*Cujusvis Hominis est errare; nullius, nisi insipientis, in
Errore perseverare.*

CICERO.

I Have already, more than once, observed that it is impossible for any Man, who is engaged in such an Undertaking as This, to keep himself intirely free from Mistakes and Impositions; and I am resolved not to give my Enemies the least Opportunity of reproaching me with persisting in any *known Error*; of which I design to give my Readers one Instance in this Day's Paper, by confessing my self grievously mistaken in the Character, which I have given the World of Doctor KING* and his *golden Specifick*; upon which account I find myself obliged, like a *certain, great Man*, on a late memorable Occasion, *to take shame to myself*.

My Readers however will have the Candour to remember that I did not presume to recommend this Remedy, till I had taken all possible Care not to be im-

* See the *Craftsman*, N° 3, and 6.

imposed on myself, or impose on them. I gave myself the Trouble of a personal Visit to the *Doctor*, and made the strictest Enquiry, that Decency would admit of, into the Virtues of this *pretended Specifick*, and the *Cures*, which he had performed with it, as set forth in the publick Prints; which He delivered to me with such an open, erected Countenance, such a flowing Volubility of Words, and so many solemn Protestations of Truth, that I came away fully satisfied, and could not help congratulating the Publick on the Discovery of so useful a *Medicine*. It seemed unreasonable to suspect so *fair a spoken Man* of being a *Cheat*, nor could I believe that human Nature was capable of such astonishing Fraud, Effrontery and Dissimulation. But alas! every Day's Experience serves to convince us of the Depravity of Mankind, and the vile Arts, which they make use of to prey upon one another; of which the present, unhappy Occasion affords us a remarkable Instance. In short, the great, flourishing and celebrated Doctor KING (who hath monopoliz'd the Practice of the whole *College*, for so many Years, without a Rival) appears at last to be no better than an *arrant Quack*, a *meer Emperick*, who hath imposed on the whole Kingdom; without the least Skill, Ability or Knowledge in his Profession; and therefore as I may have undesignedly contributed to the Propagation of his *Fame* and *Impostures*, by recommending them to the World, I think myself under the strictest Obligation to give Him up in the same publick Manner, and do all in my Power to put a Stop to his *mischievous Practice* for the future.

The *political Spleen* is a Distemper of so dangerous a Nature, and hath been so prevalent of late in this Kingdom, that it cannot be thought surprizing that any Man, who hath the Confidence to assert that He had found out an *infallible Remedy* for it, should meet with general Encouragement; and it must be
con-

confessed that several great Cures, which He had made, as to all outward Appearance, gave a plausible Air to his Pretensions, and were sufficient to delude the Publick for some Time. But it appears, upon Trial and Experience, (for I would not thus publicly censure any *Gentleman of the Faculty* without the strongest Conviction) that this *golden Nostrum* gives only a *momentary Relief* to the Patient, by laying his *Senses* asleep, like *Brandy* or *Opium*; and like them too will, in Time, wear out our *natural Constitution*. It seems to be a sort of a *mercurial Preparation*, which though it may expel one particular Disease, yet commonly introduces others, by infecting the Blood, and turning the whole Body into a Mass of *Corruption*.

We have lately seen so many Instances of This, that all Gentlemen, who have any Regard for their Health or their Characters, for Themselves, their Families, or their Posterity, ought to avoid it like *Pestilence*.

It may, in one Sense, be called *political Inoculation*; for though the *Matter* be taken from the *best Subject*, and applied by the ablest Artist to the soundest Man in *England*; yet it is still *Poison*, and occasions a *certain Distemper*, in Hopes of preventing a *worse*; but it is different from the *other Inoculation* in this Respect, that where it restores *one* to a perfect State of Health, it fills an *hundred* with noisome Blotches and scrophulous Humours, which stick by them, as long as They live.——But to return to the *Doctor*.

I have indeed had some Reason to suspect Him of being an *Impostor* for several Months past, not only by seeing some of his prime Patients *die* under his Hands, and others become most *odious* and *detestable Spectacles*; but also by what hath actually happen'd to myself. The Reader will please to recollect my having acknowledged, in my *sixth Paper*, that I had taken some of the *Doctor's golden Specifick*, being

troubled with a slight, *splenetick* Indisposition, occasioned by the last *State-Lottery*, and that I had received great Benefit by it; which did indeed give me some present Ease; but the Misfortune is, as I found by Experience, that these *Remedies* are only of a momentary Advantage; that they lose their Effect without *continual Application*; and therefore, for the Reasons before-mentioned, are really worse than the *Disease* itself.

A certain Gentleman, who desires to be *nameless*, sends me word that having been for some Time under the *Doctor's* Hands, and taken two or three Doses of his *Specifick*, He found several *vicious Habits* growing upon Him; such as an *itching Palm*, a *Relaxation of Conscience*, and *Contempt of Shame*; but that reflecting on the Consequences, in one of his serious Intervals, He resolved to purge off so dangerous a Remedy; and, by the use of *Emeticks*, and a *wholesome Regimen*, is at present in a fair way of Recovery.

But what hath intirely destroyed his Credit, as a *Physician*, and put his Quackery beyond all Dispute, is his *foreign Practice*. Could he have contented Himself with prescribing and dispensing his *Specificks* at home, I don't know (considering the natural Propensity of the *British* People to *Mountebanks* and *irregular Practitioners*) whether He might not have gone on for many Years more, in his Impositions; but when He found Himself *absolute Master* of the Profession here, nothing would satisfy his Ambition, but the same arbitrary Dominion over all the *Physicians abroad*; though He was not *regularly* brought up; though He had never *travel'd*; had read but very little on the Subject of *Physick*; and consequently could not be any tolerable Judge of *foreign Practice*.

This was the greatest *faux pas* that He ever made in his Life; though it is well known that He had been guilty of a great many; for all the *foreign Physicians* united against Him to a Man (some indeed un-

der the Colour of *Friendship*) and resolved to pull down the Pride of an *insolent Upstart*, who, without any Foundation of Knowledge, presumed to give the Law in *Physick* to the whole Universe.

When He found the Storm rising against Him, He sunk his Crest, and endeavour'd to divert it by applying his boasted *Specifick*, on which only He depended; but to no Purpose; for though they took his *Remedies* very complaisantly, in order to lull him into present Security; yet remembering his former Arrogance and Indignities, They preserved their Resentment, and made it a *Point* to expose him to the Contempt of all *Europe*.

I have received a Multitude of Letters, within these six Months past, from the most eminent *foreign Practitioners* of all Nations; particularly the *French, Spanish, German, Swedish, Muscovite, Polish, Danish* and *Prussian*; who all mention him in Terms of the highest Ridicule. Nay even the *Dutch Physicians*, who are generally supposed to be his best Friends, seem to look upon him in the same Light, as may appear from the following Extract of a Letter, which I have had the Honour to receive, on this Occasion, from the celebrated Doctor *Boerhave*, Professor of *Leyden*; in which He sums up his Character in the following Words—*Medicaster, nequaquam Medicus; cui Lingua facilis, Frons audax, Mens vana. Vir malus, cum bonâ Fortunâ compositus. Divitiarum æquè appetens ac profusus*,—That is in *English*, *A Quack, but no Physician; of a fluent Tongue, an audacious Front, and a vain Mind; a Man, who is a Composition of Wickedness and Good-fortune; equally intent on amassing Wealth, and squandering it away.*

I hope this plain Relation of my Case, and Acknowledgment of my Errors, will be accepted as a sufficient Apology for having recommended a *Remedy* as beneficial to the Publick, which proves to be directly the contrary.

I know the *Doctor*, who hath of late lost all Manner of *Temper*, will throw himself into a violent Rage on this Occasion, and direct all his little *Scribblers* to be very severe upon me for playing *Cat in Pan*; deserting old Friends; and reviling Those, whom I have formerly extolled; with some fashionable Hints that this Change of my Stile is owing to *Disappointments*, and the *Doctor's* refusing to comply with *unreasonable Requests*. But I hereby give notice to all those ingenious *Hirelings*, of what *Character*, *Function* or *Degree* soever, that all Reflections of this Sort will not make the least Impression upon me; for I am so far from being ashamed of *changing my Opinions*, as to Men or Things, that I am ready to do it every Day, upon proper Conviction; and shall always glory in so doing. I must therefore take the Liberty to conclude, with repeating my Precaution to the whole World, that *Doctor KING* is a QUACK, and his SPECIFICK a meer IMPOSITION on the People.

A.

TO CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

IT is confessedly allowed by the *Factor* to the S. S. Company, (as one of your late Correspondents * has made appear by his own Words) that a very considerable *contraband Trade* has been carried on in the Company's Vessels. *Contraband* it must be; because it is expressly stipulated in the *Contract*, that no other Trade shall be carried on in the *Assiento Vessels*, than for *Negroes*; whereas the *Factor* has not scrupled own-

* *Vide the Craftsman*, N^o 93.

ing that their *Agents* at *Jamaica* have dealt in *European dry Goods*, and even seems to glory in it.

This is a Circumstance, which the *D—rs* cannot pretend to be ignorant of; since they have, in a publick Manner, returned him *Thanks* for that Piece, which it cannot be supposed they would have done without *reading* it. How then will they reconcile their Conduct with That of their *Predecessors*, who, in 1714, suspended *one* of their *Members*, and render'd him incapable of ever serving the *Company*, only for *attempting* a Thing of that Kind? For it did not appear, upon the *Examination* of Capt. *Johnson*, before the House of Lords, that *That Gentleman* ever spoke to him on any such Affair; but that Mr. *Da Costa*, who treated with him, intimated that the said Director was in the *Secret*. Whereas there has not been the least Enquiry into the *Frauds* pointed at by this *Author*, by any Information I have been able to get; nay, so far from it, that the *very Person*, who *blabbed out this Story* (and who must be supposed to be concerned; since he says he was *One* of the *Company's Agents*) is not only *applauded* by them, but has all the *Favours* and *Honours* they can bestow upon him. Undoubtedly he is qualified to represent them at *Soissons*; since he is thought to be well acquainted with all their Transactions.

I have only a few specious Objections to remove, in order to set this Matter in a glaring Light; and then I shall leave it to the Inspection and Consideration of the *Proprietors* of the *Company*, and many Thousands of other People, who are manifestly injured.

1. It is said that, *if any such Trade has been carried on, it is no Detriment to the Company.*

This is certainly a fallacious Way of arguing; especially if it be not made appear, that the *Company* have received *some Benefit* by it; because they are at the *sole Charge* of *Shipping, Wages, &c.* and it cannot be

be supposed but that, as Goods take up Room, so every Vessel must carry a proportionable less Number of *Negroes*.

But This is not all. The *Company* are undoubtedly prejudiced in the *Sale* of their Cargo, which is imported in their *annual Ship*, by the Market's being stocked with Goods. The *Spaniards* in general, who have not a Fellow-feeling, are uneasy at this Trade. *Schedulas* are delay'd from Time to Time. *Rigoldos** must be made; and Those *considerably more* than are customarily given; and, if this be the Case, is not the *Company* notoriously injured? What Compensation can be made them for the *Detainment* and *Delays* of their Vessels; by which their *Charges* must be *encreased*, and their Goods receive considerable Damage; not to place *Seizures* and *other Losses* to those Accounts? And, after all, *who* receives the Benefit? Why, a few *private Persons*. And, is the *Interest* of the *Company*, or the *Nation* to be thus exposed for any *private, unjust Gain* whatever?

2. It is said, that *it is a Service to the Nation, if not to the Company*.

This indeed must have been allowed; if the Trade with the *Spaniards* was entirely new; or that the *Exports* of our *Manufactures*, and the *Importation* of *Bullion* were in any wise encreased by it. But This is so far from being the Case, that it might be made appear, that the Channels, which that Branch of our *Commerce* was formerly in, were considerably *more beneficial* in all Respects; especially since it was carried on (as formerly observed†) *without raising the Envy and Jealousy of our Neighbours upon imaginary Acquisitions in Trade*.

* *Presents*, alias——— 2. To whose Account are they placed?

† *Vide the Craftsman, N^o 71.*

But, if the Seizure of the Ship *Prince Frederick*, and the Misunderstandings between the Courts of *Great Britain* and *Spain* (which had like to have set all *Europe* in a flame; and which are not yet perfectly reconciled) were in any degree owing to such *contraband Trade* as the *Spaniards* alledge; what Atone-ment can the Persons concerned ever make to the *Company*, or to the *Nation*? When will full Resti-tution and Satisfaction be obtain'd for the *Seizures*, which were made of the *Company's* Effects in 1719, and 1726? What Trade can bear such *vast Losses* and *Disappointments* as they have met with? Is it not high Time to promote an *Enquiry* into all such Mea-sures as have proved injurious to them, or to the *Nation*? Will it be prudent in the *Company* to put it in the Power of the *Spaniards*, or any other Set of Men, to treat them in the same Manner? Are they not hourly at the Mercy of the former, and liable to innumerable *Frauds* and *Corruptions* of the other? In fine, can they reasonably hope for Success in *Trade*, or any *better Management* than they have hitherto met with, unless some prudent Regulations be speedily made?

MEMENTO 1720. the *Royal George*, *Prince Freder-ick*, cum multis aliis.

O.

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

CHARLES FREEPORT.



N^o 97. SATURDAY, May 11, 1728.

*Nonne vides satius esse illum Sordibus Infamiae relinqui,
quàm infirmo Judicio committi.*

Cic. Epist. ad Atticum.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,



VERY Criminal certainly hopes to escape the Punishment due to him. The *little Thief*, who steals your Handkerchief, thinks to pass off undiscovered in the Croud. He is cautious that the Goods may not be taken upon him; and endeavours to prevent, as much as is in his Power, all Evidence against him. The *Gentleman of the Road* carries his View higher, and hopes one Day, as *Shakespear* says, "*To make the wicked Prize itself buy off the Thief.*" He intends to grow rich, and cut a Figure among Mankind; and if, in the mean Time, any Accident should happen, He is sure the lowest Minister of Justice, his *Worship's Clerk*, is susceptible of a Bribe. He thinks that he hath the most dextrous Fellow in Town at *Evidence-finding*, for his *Sollicitor*; and hath, in his Imagination at least, touched the *Fury*; and sometimes he flatters himself that he can depend on the Partiality or the Weakness of his *Judge*.

There are, besides These, a sort of *Society-Thieves*, who pilfer within the Pale of the Statute; such as *Usurers*, *Stock-jobbers*, *Sharppers*, and those Worms, who prey on the Necessities of the generous Mariner.
These

These Men, while they grow rich and batten on the Spoils of the Poor, call themselves *industrious* and *honest*, and take it very ill to be numbred in the List above-mentioned.

The *wicked Politician* only stands erect by himself in the first and highest Rank of Plunderers; and seems, in his Prosperity, to look down and despise the Law, which he has broken.

Yet all these People (from the little *Pick-pocket* to the *Highwayman*; from the low *Difference-Jobber* in *Change-Alley*, and the noxious *Caterpillar*, who deals in *Towerhill-Stock*, to the *wicked Politician*) take it extremely ill to be ranked in the Clan of *Thieves*. They cry out with a general Voice against the Barbarity of *Calumny* and *Defamation*; when they are really concerned, not that their Crimes are revealed, but that they may be punished for them; not that their Characters are exposed, but their Persons; and it is the *Fear* of the Suffering, not the *Shame*, that shocks them.

The *Politician* indeed seems to be well secured by the Temper of his Armour. No Spear will touch it. It rebates and takes off the Edge of every Weapon. With Respect to him and to his Intrigues, the Laws lie silent under his Feet; the dead Letter sleeps; and the under Magistrate dares not to awaken it. Every Man is thought to be in the Wrong, who opposes him; and is deemed criminal, when he speaks against him. He is not only arbitrary, but infallible. Every honest and wise Man, who thinks of impleading him, sees very plainly in this Case that Justice, though she looks beautiful at a Distance, is a fairy and a delightful Prospect only; and he knows there is no advancing towards it with Safety or Success. He finds it the much more prudent, and therefore more eligible Choice, to let a *great bad Man* mire himself in his own Infamy, than to accuse Him before People already prepared to acquit him; and perhaps too he

may

may prevent a future and more favourable Season for such an Attack. A Man, who should in this Case obstinately resolve to impeach him, would, as Mr. Congreve says, "*die a Martyr to Sense, in a Country where the Religion is Folly*;" that is, let the End at which he aims be never so just, or right, or reasonable, he would expose it *infirmò Judio*. Therefore all Ages give us Examples of bad Men, who, when they are in Power, cry out upon their Enemies to impeach them; to charge them; to call them to a strict Account. They are ready to answer; and it is malevolent, it is unjust, say they, to give out general Hints only, and not to proceed to a formal and particular Impeachment.

Such a *wicked Politician*, giddy with Prosperity, is apt to imagine that the Influence of his great Authority and Wealth may byass his Judges, and dares even to look upon them as his *Fellow-Criminals*. He arrogantly presumes that he shall make the Persons, who are so hardy to impeach him, to appear criminal themselves, and publickly threatens and defies his Accusers. He looks upon himself as a General at the Head of victorious Troops, whom he perhaps unjustly and vainly supposes to be enlisted in his Service, and obedient to his Commands. If I may be allow'd to mention a late Instance of our own, it may confirm what I have said. How blameable soever the late E. of Oxford might be thought, by some Persons, in his Administration; yet who, in the late Queen's Time, when the *White Staff* and the Power of it was in his Hand, would have dared to have impeach'd him? Or, if any one had been so hardy, what would have been the Success, though the Charge could have been ever so plainly made out? He was afterwards, we know, impeach'd and acquitted, though entirely divested of Power; and therefore we may, I think, presume that he was innocent.—The second additional Article against him was a Charge only of receiving a Bounty of 13,000 l.

in *Tin Tallies* from her Majesty, upon a very extraordinary Occasion. In his Answer to which, the *Earl* hath these remarkable Words. “ *That as he*
 “ *came with clean Hands into Her Majesty’s Service,*
 “ *so he went not only with clean but almost empty*
 “ *Hands out of it.*”

From what I have said we may see, that a *particular Charge*, though it might conduce very little to a great Man’s *Reputation*, would contribute very much to his *Safety*. It is true his Guilt would be more manifest, and the Merit of his evil Deeds would remain still to be accounted for, with the additional Crime of having made use of his *Power* or *Wealth* to corrupt his *Judges*. What is to be done then in this Case? A *general Accusation* only remains; and the *injur’d Publick* must wait for a *better Hour*, when what they now call *Calumny* shall become a *well-attested Truth*, and receive a sacred and general Approbation. Therefore it ought not to be accounted *malevolent* or *unjust* in this Case, to give in *general Accusations*. The People are very seldom misled in their Opinion of *great Men*. They judge without *Byass* or *Interest*. They feel their Mismanagements and Male-Administration in the Consequences of them; and cannot be deceived. They neither *flatter* nor *detract*. They are not blinded by the Glare of a *Levéé*, nor prejudiced by the Hopes of *Pensions* or *Places*. When they feel the *Weight* only, they complain of the *Load*; and let the *great Man*, whoever he shall happen to be, applaud himself and his own Actions in publick, as loudly and as frequently as he pleases; he will, he must find, in the End, that the People are right. The Appeal will lie there at last; when all *Flattery* will cease, and the Rooms of his Palace will remain unsullied with the Feet of his *Clients*.

Yet it may happen that all the indecent *Self-applause*, which a *great Man* may give to himself in publick, is only *Grimace* and outward Shew. When he
 defies

defies all *Conviction*; when he talks of his *Merit* to the Publick, and the *Ingratitude* of his Fellow-Citizens; this Man, I say, when he declares in publick for *Virtue*, *Integrity*, *Frugality* and *Honour* in the strictest Degree, shall, among his *Intimates*, and *bosom Friends*, throw aside the *Mask*; laugh at every Appearance of *Virtue*; deride the *unfashionable Animals*, who are fond of being in her Suite, or declare that it is the Business of every Man in *Employment* to make the most of it. He opens his whole Heart before them; and rejoices that he has found the Way of dealing with a *corrupt Generation*, as a corrupt Generation *deserves* to be dealt by.

Nothing sweetens and mollifies the Heart so much as *Humility* and *Meekness in Power*. An *humble great Man* looks so much like a *good One*, that the People will with difficulty believe or hear the contrary; but when a Man shall dare to vaunt himself in his Iniquity, and oppose the Shield of his Power and Arrogance to every thing that seems to touch him, it not only looks like *Guilt* in him, but appears to be a general *Insult* upon the People. Yet This is not the least Evil that follows the Administration of such a *bad Man* as I have described. History gives us frequent Examples where the best Princes have by such *Ministers* lost the *Affections* of the best People, who are naturally disposed to overlook the personal Failings or accidental Miscarriages of their *Sovereign*, and are never so much irritated as when He endeavours to support a *tyrannical over-grown Favourite* against their general Demand for Justice.

In a word, it is the general Tenor of a Man's *Life* and *Manners*, his *Conversation* and *Actions* only, that gain him the Character of a *good* or a *bad Man*. Hence it is, that no one is ever credited, who speaks ill of *PROBUS*, or well of *VAFER*.

R.

I am Yours, &c.

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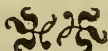
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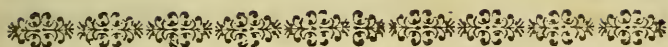
By Alexander Nevyl.

*Optarem equidem, ut hæc populares Tempeſtates & Seditio-
num Procellæ, quibus Patria noſtra ſordidiſſimorum
Hominum Scelere & Perfidia percuſa & afflicta fuit, aut
nunquam contigiffent, aut (ſi fieri poſſet) illarum Me-
moriam penitus ex omnium Mentibus excinderetur. Sed
quoniam præterita mutari non poſſunt, & hæc Macula
Proditionis, à pernicioſiſſimis Civibus Patriæ noſtræ im-
preſſa, altius inſedit in Populi Norfolciensis nomine, ad
Memoriam Sceleris ſempiternam infixæ, quam ut penitus
deleri aut prorsus extirpari queat; facile patior obla-
tam mihi hanc hujus Hiſtoriæ conſcribendi Facultatem,
ut omnes intelligant quibus initiis hi tanti Tumultus
excitati ſint, ac qua tandem Virtute compreſſi; penitus-
que perſpiciant Vulnera illa ac Seditio-
num Scelera non à bonis Viris & fortibus inſlicta, ſed à deſperatorum Ho-
minum flagitioſiſſimis Gregibus inuſta fuiſſe.*

Nevylly Præf.

N.B. A Specimen of this Work will be published with the Propoſals, which will be delivered Gratis by the Booksellers of London and Weſtminſter.





N^o 98. SATURDAY, May 18, 1728.

*Quousque tantam Dominandi Libidinem inultam sine-
rent ? Jamque eò devenisse illos Crudelitatis & Ava-
ritiæ, ut non contenti sint omnia rapere, spoliare, &
per Vim ac Scelus adipisci, quæ in Luxum, mulie-
bresque Delicias, profundant, nisi etiam Sanguinem
penè ipsum, Medullamque ex Venis & Ossibus ex-
suxerint.*

NEVYL. *de Furoribus NORFOLCIENSIIUM.*

THOUGH nothing can be a more in-
structive Entertainment to rational Minds
than Accounts of the Rise, Progress
and Revolutions of great States, Cities
and Communities; yet there is something
very melancholy in observing that History does not
afford us any Instance of a People, who have not, at
some Time or other, been harrassed with *publick*
Robbers, Tyrants and Oppressors.

I have been lately obliged to an ingenious Gentle-
man for the sight of a Book, printed about an hun-
dred Years ago, and I believe very scarce, intituled
THEATRUM REGIUM; being a *compendious History of*
the Kings of Spain, Arragon, Navarre and Portugal;
written by *Johannes Baptista Lambertinus*; to which
is added a curious Piece, containing an Account of
the triumphal Edifices, Arches and other magnificent
Preparations, which were made at *Antwerp*, in the
Year 1549, for the Reception of *Philip Prince of*
V. Q. L. III. H *Spain,*

Spain, when his Father, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, resign'd the *Low Countries* to him. This Piece is written by *Cornelius Scribonius Grapheus*, formerly Secretary of that City.

I could not help being very well pleased with an Account of so remarkable a Solemnity at a Place, to which I owe my Extraction; the very Name of *D'Anvers* (as I have before observed) signifying a Person, who comes from *Antwerp*, which in the *French* Tongue is called *Anvers*.

But besides the Pleasure, which every Man is apt to take in the memorable Transactions, Occurrences and Curiosities of a Country, from whence his Family was originally derived, I shall always make it my Endeavour to convert the Fruits of my own Reading and Observation to the Instruction or Entertainment of the Publick; and therefore shall take this opportunity of presenting my Readers with a short Account of one of the *triumphal Monuments*, erected upon that extraordinary Occasion, as described by the Author before mentioned; which alludes to the original Foundation of that *ancient City*, and seems to convey some *political Instruction*.

Having passed this Arch, says my Author, there appeared at a great Distance, towards the West, two magnificent Columns, of the *Dorick* Order, being sixty seven Feet in Height, finely gilt and beautified with various Colours, in imitation of Marble.

Between these two Pillars was a large Pedestal; upon which sat a vast and prodigious GIANT, being no less than *three and twenty Feet high*, and so exactly proportioned in all his Limbs, that no Statue, on this side the *Alps*, can be compared to it, either with regard to its Size, or the Beauty of its Workmanship.

This Statue was made *hollow* within, so that People might go up Stairs through Him, from his Feet to his Head; from whence, says the learned Author, you may compute his Dimensions.

It

It was also contrived to be made of such a hard, and almost impenetrable Composition of Matter, that nothing would make any Impression upon it, so as to soften, dissolve or impair it, except *Fire*. The sharpest iron Tools would not touch it ; nor would it even yield to a Cannon Ball ; much less would it receive any Injury from Worms, Water, Wind or Weather.

His Aspect was altogether gigantick, cruel, horrid and tyrannical. His Beard was long and of a deep Red ; his Eyes fiery, lowering and hollow ; his Brows rough and hairy, which hung over his Eyes, and denoted ill Nature ; his Arms, Thighs and Legs were bare ; his Feet cover'd with Buskins, and his Breast with an old-fashion'd Piece of Armour. His Head was richly adorned with white and red Roses, which are the Arms of that City. Over one Shoulder hung a Kind of Scarf, of a delicate *scarlet* Colour, though some Manuscripts indeed say that it was a *blue* one. In his right Hand he held a large *wooden* Sceptre, and and by his left Side he wore a vast, crooked and dreadful Scymitar. He now and then nodded his Head, and rolled about his great goggle Eyes, by the Help of certain Clock-work or Machinery within.

Upon the Approach of the *Prince*, his Countenance visibly alter'd, and became much more pleasant and courteous. Over his Head was the following Inscription in large Capitals, supposed to be the Words of the *Giant* to the *Prince*.

“ Behold ! I, whom Fame reports to have formerly exercised a new-established Tyranny in these Parts, though the vast Magnitude of my Body still strikes Terrour into the Inhabitants, yet now, laying aside my savage Nature, I willingly yield, O mighty Prince, and submit myself to thy Authority without any Reluctance.”

The Story of this *Giant*, as it is vulgarly and fabulously related, is as follows.

It is said, that he formerly went by the Name of ANTIGONUS; that he took Possession of a Place upon the River *Scheld*, where there *still* remain (that is, when our *Author* wrote) the Walls and Ruins of an old Castle; that depending on the Protection of this Castle, which was very strong, according to those Times, he began to play the *Tyrant*, by demanding *Contribution* from every body that passed by; and extending his Cruelty and Depredation far and near. When any Persons, who had the Misfortune to fall into his Hands, refused to pay this *Tax*, he took it from them by Force; used them with great Indignity; and, cutting off one of their *Hands*, sent them away bleeding in a terrible Manner; from whence it came to pass that the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Country began to call the Place * HANTWORP; which, in the *German* Language, signifies the *Loss of an Hand*; the Name, which it still retains, with a very little Variation, to this Day.

At length, a certain valiant Prince of that Province (whose Name was *Salvius Brabon*; from whom it is thought that *Brabant* takes its Name) not being able to bear the Insolence of this *Tyrant*, engaged him in a terrible Fight; and having manfully and bravely foil'd him in a Wrestle, he slew him; cut off one of his *Hands*, by way of Retaliation, and deliver'd the adjacent Country from the Terrors of his Cruelty.

There are still several current Stories and vulgar Traditions, says my *Author*, amongst the People of *Antwerp*, concerning this *Giant*; but those barbarous and superstitious Ages have left us nothing, which we
can

* See also a Book, intitl'd, *Les Delices des Pais Bas*, Vol. I. P. 116. which differs indeed, in some Points, from the *Author* before me, but agrees in the Main of the Story.

can depend on ; yet they are not less credible, says he, than what the antient Heathens really believed of *Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, Mercury*, and their other Deities.

For my part, I am always willing to interpret such extraordinary Traditions of Antiquity in a *mythological* and *figurative* Sense; which it is well known was the favourite and most common Way of writing in those Times. I cannot suppose they design'd that Posterity should understand them in a *literal* Sense, since there are few of those venerable Fables, which do not evidently contain some valuable Piece of History, or excellent Moral. As for That before us, I think I can easily explain it to my Readers,

To begin therefore. This Story of the Monster *Antigonus* seems to intimate to us that the Province, where the City of *Antwerp* now stands, was formerly infested by some insolent, cruel, overgrown, rapacious *great Man* (a GIANT in *Wickedness* rather than in *Stature*) who lorded it over his Fellow-Subjects and delighted in persecuting Those, who refused to comply with, or even to murmur at his *grievous Demands* and *Impositions*.

By the *strong Castle*, which was said to be his Protection, is probably meant the great and terrible POWER, of which he had possessed himself.

The Statue was made *hollow* and without any *Intestines*; to represent, perhaps, that He had no *Bowels* of Compassion; or to shew that he could not be pacified till he had filled the prodigious *Cavity* with the *Blood* and *Vitals* of his Fellow-Creatures.

The *Impenetrability* of the Matter, of which this Statue was composed, seems as obviously to set forth either the Temper of his *Forehead*, or the Insensibility of his *Heart* to the Distresses and Grievances of his Countrymen.

By the *Plume* of *white* and *red Roses* (being the Arms of that City) which appeared on his *Head*, and

the *red* or *blue* Scarf, which he wore cross one of his Shoulders, are plainly denoted to us that he had usurped the *first Honours* of the Commonwealth to himself.

His great, crooked *Scymitar* may possibly imply a *large standing Army*; and his *wooden Sceptre*, that his Power would not last long.

The Circumstance of the *Alteration of his Looks*, on the Approach of his *Prince*, and the poor, flattering Speech, which he is supposed to make to him, carry an excellent *Moral*, and are beautifully contrived to inculcate this everlasting Truth, *viz. that those Men, who domineer, in this Manner, over their Equals or Inferiors, are the most sneaking, timorous, abject Wretches in the World before a crown'd Head.*

It does not seem unreasonable to conjecture farther, that even the Circumstance of his cutting off one of the *Hands* of Those, who refused to comply with his Demands, and using them with great Indignity, may be designed to mean, in an *allegorical* Sense, that, by laying these *heavy Burthens* on the People, he deprived them of great Part of their *Manufactures*, and insulted them when he had done. But I submit This to more profound Adepts in *Hieroglyphicks* than I pretend to be.

- There is nothing mystical or allegorical in the Story of the *valiant Prince*, who at length subdued this Tyrant; it being to be understood in a *literal* Sense; but the *Moral*, which it carries, is admirable, *viz. that it is possible for a Man of an ordinary Size, (for Salvius Brabon is not said to be more) armed with Probity, Resolution, and a good Cause, to overthrow the greatest Monster of Power and Wickedness, that ever infested the Face of the Earth,*

D.

N^o 99. SATURDAY, *May 25, 1728.*

*Virtus, Probitas, Integritas in Candidato, non Linguae
Volubilitas, non Ars, non Scientia requiri solet.*

CICERO.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,



YOU have already very justly observed that there is nothing, in which the Generality of People are more mistaken, than in their Opinions concerning *great Men*; and that the Possession of *uncommon Abilities* is too often thought to be inseparable from the Enjoyment of *extraordinary Power*.

This is so true, that when any Man, even of the meanest Parts, hath worked himself into the Administration of publick Affairs, He is immediately cry'd up by all the little Fawners and Sycophants, who frequent Courts, as an extraordinary Genius, and a most consummate Statesman; which is apt to gain Credit with many People, from a false Notion that it is impossible for any Man to get at the Helm, without being much wiser than his Neighbours; not considering that the Rise of such a Man is often owing to meer Accident, or Favour, or Interest, or to some unhappy Calamity of the Times, or Exigence of Government.

From

From hence proceeds that ridiculous Topick, equally common under all Administrations, that *Nobody, except such a Man* (meaning always the *present Minister*) is equal to his Post, or able to go through the *Business of the Publick*; but This hath been asserted of so many Persons, one after another, that I wonder any Men, of common Sense, are not ashamed to mention it, or be imposed on by it any longer; for though nobody can have a better opinion of the Capacity of our *present excellent Ministers* than myself, yet I am willing to hope, for the honour of *Great Britain*, that the Business of the Nation would not be absolutely at a stand *without Them*; and that there are several other Persons, capable of serving his Majesty, when we shall be unhappily deprived of them, either by *Death* or *Resignation*.

I shall therefore beg Leave to trouble you with some Observations, which have occur'd to me, on *real* and *imaginary Abilities*, and consider what Parts are most requisite to the Qualification and Employment of a *British Statesman*.

The *greatest Capacities*, properly so called, ought to raise our Jealousy and Detestation, rather than our Esteem of him, who possesses them, unless they are accompanied with the strongest, publick Benevolence and Integrity. When they are found without These, they are always suspicious. We cannot trust Him, who carries such dangerous Weapons about him, being well apprized that he will turn them against us, whenever it his Interest so to do.

But what are commonly called *great Abilities*, in this Age, will appear, upon Enquiry, to be nothing but a little, sordid Genius for *Tricks* and *Cunning*, which founds all its Success on *Corruption*, *Stock-jobbing* and *other iniquitous Arts*; for which a Man ought rather to be made a severe Example of Justice, than to receive the Applause, Honours and Encouragement of his Country.

Cicero goes so far as to affirm, in the Sentence prefixed to this Paper, *that neither Eloquence, nor Art, nor Knowledge are requisite to a Candidate for a publick Employment*; and lest he should be misunderstood, or surprize People by the seeming Novelty or Oddness of the Proposition, he explains himself by saying, that if you want a Man to employ in any particular *Manufacture or mechanick Art*, you will certainly chuse one, who is expert in that Particular; *but in a Shepherd or a Steward, you desire nothing more than Frugality, Labour and Vigilance. These are the Qualities, which Rome expects in the Magistrates she chuses, whom she considers as the Stewards of the Republick*—*sin autem quem Vilicum impone-remus, quem Pecori præsiceremus, nihil in Eo nisi Frugalitatem, Laborem, Vigilantiam esse curamus. Sic Pop. Rom. diligit Magistratus, quasi Reipublicæ Vilicos.*

Though I cannot intirely agree with the great Roman Author in this Respect, by excluding all Kind of Knowledge and Parts from a publick Employment, in which *some Persons* seem to have exactly taken his Advice; yet I cannot help thinking that *plain Sense* and *Probity* are much preferable to those *spurious* and *sophistical Endowments*, which go so far in the Composition of some *modern great Men*.

The same excellent Author makes it a Question whether even *real Eloquence*, of which He was Himself the greatest Master that ever lived, had done more Good or Hurt to the Publick, and concludes that it was a very *dangerous Talent*.——But what would he have said of our *modern tritcal Art*, falsely called *Oratory*, which consists in a plausible Jumble of flowing Periods, without Perspicuity or Connection, and hath been so often practised, of late, to confound the Apprehensions of the Audience, and keep off their Thoughts from the true Merits of the Point in Debate?

I am therefore always surprized to hear any *Ministers* extolled for such Kind of *Abilities*, when I reflect

reflect how little of *those Arts*, and how much *Virtue* is necessary to the honest Discharge of the Trust reposed in them; how dangerous it is to have *such Ministers*; and how many Instances there are in our History of Men, who have made use of *those Talents* to the great Disadvantage of the Publick, without doing any one thing, except *Mischief*, that might not have been done *without them*.

These celebrated Masters of Art are like the famous Mr. *James Figg*. He is terrible, not because others are *weaker*, but because They have not practised the same *mischievous Weapons*. Like Him, they wound and bruise their Fellow-Creatures, and make use of their Dexterity, as He does, though without his Excuse, for the vile Purpose of *filling their own Pockets*. Happy had it been for the Publick, if they had been confined to the narrow Compass of an Amphitheatre in *Tyburn Road*!

What was said of the Earl of *Strafford*, that he was a Man, whose *Abilities* might make a Prince afraid of employing him, may not improperly be applied to other Ministers before and since his Time; whose *only visible Capacities* have consisted in plundering the Publick, and contriving new Methods of squeezing Money out of the People; and I am sure it will appear, from our History, that there is more Reason for us to apprehend the Loss of our Liberties, and for our Kings to fear the Loss of the Hearts of their Subjects from Ministers of such *celebrated, rapacious Talents*, than from Those of, perhaps, the less shining, but much more rare and valuable Qualities, *Frugality, Integrity and Virtue*.

In such a Constitution as ours, nothing seems to be so much wanting to the Management of publick Business, as a *plain Understanding*; and nothing can make that Management so honourable and successful as *plain Dealing*.

Our Interests, with respect to *foreign* States and Powers, are far from having any Thing of Mystery in them; and may be said to be so far always the *same*, that let what Changes soever happen in our Neighbour Countries, the original, everlasting Principles of *British* Politicks, with regard to the Prosperity of our *Trade*, the Security of the *Protestant Interest*, and the *Ballance* of Power in *Europe*, will never alter; nor can the Means of protecting and preserving These ever be above *plain Language* to express, and *common Sense* to comprehend.

Our *domestick Affairs*, I confess, seem to have more Obscurity and Difficulty in them. I mean what relates to our publick Debts, our Funds and our Revenues. Since the glorious Revolution in 1688, the Increase of our Debts, the Variety of Funds, and Securities for the Payment of them, the different Appropriations of Customs, Excises and Taxes, the Number and different Kinds of Creditors, with their respective Titles, Interests and Determinations, as they have made the Laws concerning them more voluminous, so they seem to have rendered the publick Accounts more intricate and perplexed. Nay, we have so often heard the understanding and explaining these Things admired and extolled, as a Sort of Miracle, that we might have been induced to join in the Applause, had we not seen, very lately, how possible it is, without Inspiration, for a *Gentleman*, not at all concerned in the *Management*, not only perfectly to *understand* them, but *correct* them too; and, without any other Assistance than a clear Head and a proper Expression, to strip them of all their imagined Mystery and Obscurity, and make them intelligible to the plain Understanding of his Fellow-Subjects. And so it will ever be, when all that is meant is to come at the *Truth*, which strikes the most strongly by its own Force, and is the more beautiful, the less it is adorned. Error or ill Design alone requires Art to
obscure

obscure it, and make *unintelligible* what is not fit to be revealed.

But if there were indeed more Difficulty in these Matters than there seems to be, we ought to consider what Advantages attend *Men in Power*. The Management of every Thing is in their Hands. All the *Offices* are dependent on them. The *Books* and *Papers* are open to their Inspection; and every *Clerk* is ready to communicate all his Knowledge (the Fruit, perhaps, of twenty Years) in the clearest and shortest Manner; and if a Man, with all these Helps, cannot make himself a tolerable Master of the *Accounts*, I will agree that He is not fit for a *Prime Minister*.

It is evident that the Design of these Reflections is not to depreciate *real Parts* and *Abilities*, but to expose the *Affectation* and guard us against the *Abuse* of them. I honour as well as admire them, when they are usefully employed. They have been and still are, in the Persons of some Men, impartially and disinterestedly directed to the true Service and real Glory of the Publick. I have only endeavoured to shew the Preference, which is due to *Virtue*; that *Abilities*, especially what are commonly called so now-a-days, are dangerous without it, and have been fatal in the Possession of *Ministers*, who have not been strictly just and virtuous; and that no Nation can ever be prosperous or happy, whose Interests are under the Management of *Ministers* less honoured for *Probity* and *publick Spirit*, than admired for *Volubility*, *Artfulness* and *Cunning*.

C. D.

I am, SIR, &c.

From my own Chambers.

I Am sorry that the *Inscription* on Cardinal *Wolsey*, which was first published in this Paper, should give any Gentlemen Offence. There is however something

so generous and grateful (considering the *Place*, from whence it comes) in the Request made to me, in the following Letter, that I cannot refuse it, without departing from that *Impartiality*, which is essential to an honest Writer. But as I published that *Inscription* merely for the publick Good, I hope my Correspondent will have the Candour to acknowledge that if any Part of it is really too severe on the *Cardinal*, I ought not to be blamed for it; since it must be imputed either to the Violence of the Times, or the usual Resentment of a passionate Prince against a *falling Favourite*. For my part, though I cannot indeed entertain a very good Opinion of his *Eminence*, yet I should be loth to do the least Injury to the Character of a *Minister*, who hath been so long *gone to his Account*; and especially since my Correspondent seems to admit that I have done *Justice to the LIVING*, I am resolved not to seem guilty of any Injustice to the Memory of the DEAD, by suppressing the *shining Side* of his Character.—— How just it is, let the Reader determine.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq*;

S I R, *Christ Church, Oxon, May 12, 1728.*

AS you profess yourself a Friend to Truth, I hope you will have *Impartiality* enough not to suppress it when it seems against you. There is an Art of modern Satire, which appears to me a little disingenuous, if not inhuman. If an *ill Man* is to be exposed, whom it is not convenient to attack *openly*, some great Man of *former Ages* is raised up, as it were from the Grave, to be punished for another's Faults; and his Name is loaded with Ignominy, in some Degree undeserved, for the sake of *One*, who must be *nameless*. I cannot help thinking Cardinal *Wolsey* has lately experienc'd something of this hard Treatment. He had extraordinary *Virtues* as well as *Vices*. During his Ministry, King *Henry* never fell into those dishonourable *Difficulties*,

in which he was afterwards involv'd. It must be own'd that the *Cardinal* acknowledg'd himself negligent of his *Duty towards God*; for which let that *Statesman*, who is without Sin, throw the first Stone at him; and it should never be forgotten that he profess'd with his dying Words, that He had *served his King faithfully*. His Character had a bright as well as a dark Side; and as you have already expos'd the *one*, it seems the least Atonement you can make to his Memory, to give the *other* to publick View; that you may not appear one of those unfair Writers, who, under the specious Pretext of doing Justice to the *Living*, are guilty of Injustice to the *Dead*. The following Inscription is supposed to have been written by a Member of this Foundation, which owes so much to that *great Man's* Munificence; and I should be glad if the most sagacious Reader were able to find him a *living Parallel*.

Yours,

In aeternam Memoriam

A. B.

Thomæ Wolfæi, S. R. E. C.

*Qui ad honores, quibus erat cumulatus plurimis,
Non Temporum Calamitate, sed regio Favore evocatus,*

*Hæc Aedes publicæ Utilitati**Propriis Sumptibus extruxit.**Exteris Principibus eò formidabilis,**Quod Anglicani Imperii Gloriam**Sapienter ubique asseruit,**Vindicavit accerrime,**Et inemptis fœderibus stabilivit.**In hoc egregiè pertinax,**Quia nec alienam fidem pretio sollicitavit,**Nec venditavit suam;**Honestius ratus & dignius Anglicano Nomine**Pactiones imperare quam mercari,**Et præscribere quam efflagitare.**Apertus, prudens, munificus.**Dignitates assignavit, tum civiles tum ecclesiasticas,**Non necessariis sed merentibus.**Ædificia*

Ædificia ampla & regalia condidit
(*Privata Rei immemor*)

Patriæ, Regi, Deo.

Coavis ille & Posteris vixit ;
Et Literatus ipse & Literatorum Fautor.

Abi, Aulice, & si potes, æmulare.

In English thus.

To the immortal Memory of

THOMAS WOLSEY,

Cardinal of the holy Roman See ;

Who being adorned with a multitude of Honours,
Which he did not gain by any publick Calamity,

But by the Favour of his Prince,
Raised this great Pile, for publick Use,

At his own private Expence.

For this Reason dreaded by foreign Princes,

That he every where wisely asserted,

Most strenuously vindicated,

And by *unbought Treaties* confirmed

The true Glory of the *English* Empire.

Remarkably glorious in this Particular,

That he never attempted to *corrupt another's Faith,*

Nor *sold his own,*

Esteeming it much more noble

And worthy of the *English* Name,

To *command* Peace, than to *buy* it,

And *prescribe* Terms than to *court* them.

Ingenuous, wise, munificent.

He bestowed Honours, both civil and ecclesiastical,

Not on *meer Tools*, but *deserving Men*.

He built several magnificent and royal Edifices,

(*Despising his own private Interest*)

For the Service of his Country, his King, and his God.

He lived both for his own Times and for Posterity,

And, being Learned Himself, was an Encourager
of Learned Men.

Goaway, Courtier, and endeavour to emulate his Example.

R.



N^o 100. SATURDAY, June 1, 1728.

—QUEM, Tu Dea, Tempore in omni
Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere Rebus. LUCRET.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

OXFORD, May 24th.



S I was consulting a Volume of Bishop Barlow's Collection, placed in the Bodleian Library (C. 3. Line 18.) I happen'd to meet with the following Translation of a Speech in *Salust*, which I communicate to you, Word for Word, and desire you to publish it in your next Paper, for the Benefit of your Fellow-Subjects. The Historian introduces this Speech, by telling us, that CAIUS MEMMIUS was a Man famous for his Eloquence, and Zeal for the antient Constitution of the Common-wealth; that he had made several excellent Speeches against the *Corruption* of the Times, and the Encroachments on *publick Liberty*; of which he gives us the following as a Specimen.

I am, Sir, &c.

The

The Speech of CAIUS MEMMIUS, Tribune, to the
People of ROME. Translated from *Salust.*

Indignatio & Dolor omnibus.

Vis ad Resistendum nulli aderat.

Vell. Paterc.

ROMANS,

“ **T**HE present Circumstances of our Affairs, the
 “ Power of the *prevailing Faction*, your tame
 “ Submission, the Loss of all Justice, and the Danger
 “ of speaking Truth, are such Discouragements, that I
 “ should be silent, as well as others, at this Time, if
 “ my Concern for my Country were not above all
 “ other Considerations. ’Tis hardly worth while, *Fel-*
 “ *low Citizens*, to put you in mind of the Indignities
 “ you have received of late Years, and the ill Treatment
 “ the bravest Assertors of your Privileges have met with,
 “ from some of the Nobility; when we are now re-
 “ duc’d so low, that a *few great and ill Men* govern
 “ us; whose Right it is, and whose chief Business it
 “ should be to watch and keep such Miscreants in awe.
 “ However, for my part, I have resolv’d to make War
 “ upon this *powerful and pernicious CABAL*, and will
 “ use that Liberty, which, as a *Freeman of Rome*, I am
 “ legally intitled to; but ’tis in your Power only to
 “ make my good Endeavours effectually serviceable to
 “ you. I would not be understood to excite you to
 “ any Kind of *Force*. No; let us fight ’em with their
 “ *own Weapons*. The same Engines, which they have
 “ always made use of to raise themselves, will, I doubt
 “ not, if rightly employ’d, even yet be sufficient to
 “ pull ’em down. Not long since, we thought we had
 “ Reason to complain of the *squandering the publick*
 “ *Money*, and of the *exorbitant Riches and excessive Power*
 “ *of some particular Persons*; but now those very Per-
 “ sons are so far from being contented to go off with

“ *Impunity*, that they have *again* work’d themselves
 “ into Power. They have their Pontificates, their Go-
 “ vernments of Provinces, and their triumphal Procef-
 “ sions. They strut; they domineer; and treat us with
 “ such Scorn and Insolence, as if they thought it not
 “ *Robbery*, but an *Honour*, to have cheated the Com-
 “ monwealth. Our Slaves, my *Countrymen*, our pur-
 “ chased Slaves have Spirit enough to disobey the un-
 “ just Commands of their Masters. Shall we, who
 “ were born free, stand still and patiently suffer the Yoke
 “ to be put about our Necks? But pray let us consider
 “ a little *what sort of Men* These are, who have thus
 “ seized upon the Government? Why, they are Men of
 “ evil Principles and worse Practices; designing, proud,
 “ rapacious, violent, and unforgiving; determined, by
 “ all Methods, to prosecute their INTEREST, and postpone
 “ to That all Regards to Religion and Honour. And
 “ this Society, (what shall I call it?) This *Cabal* are
 “ firmly and strongly united by that wicked Tie, of
 “ *having all been involved in the same or unequal Crimes*.
 “ However, if *We* had been as careful to preserve our
 “ Liberties, as *They* have been industrious to wrest ’em
 “ from us, our Constitution had not been so shock’d
 “ and unsettled as ’tis now; nor would so many great
 “ Posts of the Commonwealth have been in the Hands
 “ of the most *forward*, instead of the most *deserving*.
 “ Our Ancestors ventured their Lives and their For-
 “ tunes, to preserve their Privileges, and to keep up a
 “ proper Balance in the Government; and shall we not
 “ stir one Step, not dare to run the least Risque, to de-
 “ liver down those Privileges to our Posterity, which
 “ we have received from those Ancestors? Surely, we
 “ ought the more resolutely to contend for ’em, as ’tis
 “ more dishonourable to *lose* ’em, than *never to have*
 “ *had* ’em. But, perhaps, it may be asked, what is it
 “ proper for us to do in this Situation? Shall we *ad-*
 “ *dress*? Shall we *impeach*? I will not take upon me
 “ to prescribe you a particular Method of proceeding;
 “ but

“ but I will be bold to say, that some *Stand* ought
“ immediately to be made; some *Stop*, if possible, to be
“ put to the growing Tyranny of this *Cabal*; that the
“ Commons of *Rome* may never have this Reproach,
“ that They, who used to oppose and condemn the least
“ irregular Step, or Encroachment, even in their *Kings*,
“ now lie down easy and satisfied, under the heaviest
“ and most arbitrary Oppression of *five* or *six* of their
“ *Fellow-Subjects*! If we have not Spirit enough to
“ rouse ourselves upon this important Occasion, our
“ Condition is very wretched, and almost desperate; for
“ whilst we are subdued at home, faster than we can
“ conquer abroad; whilst no Man is allow’d a Place in
“ the *Senate-House*, who is not thought, by these Ma-
“ sters, less likely to defend the *People’s Liberties*, than
“ to give up *their own*; whilst hardly any one can be
“ secure from Punishment, but HE, who deserves it;
“ whilst we give each Year immense Taxes without
“ *Appropriation*, and let them be distributed without
“ *Account*; whilst we have not Courage enough even
“ to own our Fears; whilst we are forced to magnify
“ *successful Blunders*; in a Word, whilst we lavish our
“ Treasure, and husband the War; a Man may venture
“ to prophesy, that unless the Gods are pleased to work
“ a Miracle for us at home, as they have done many
“ abroad, the Time is not far off, in which this an-
“ tient and noble Frame of Government will be totally
“ demolished; and we, who have been so often *Con-*
“ *querors*, shall be no longer *Freemen*.”

C.





N^o 101. SATURDAY, June 8, 1728.

IF all *Happiness* arises from *Comparison*, as the moral Philosophers assert, how infinitely happy are we of this Nation, as we are not only in a more flourishing Condition than our neighbouring Countries; but as the Felicity of the present Times exceeds That of any former Ages; especially the Reign of King *Charles* the second, which hath been so much celebrated by some Writers. As we have equally enjoy'd the Blessings of *Peace* for many Years past, so we have had the Advantage of a much more extensive *Trade* than our Countrymen in those Days; and consequently there must be a greater Degree of *Plenty* and *Riches* in the Kingdom. It must be confessed indeed that our *Taxes* are grown very considerably heavier; but, perhaps, it must be likewise owned that they bear no Proportion to the Increase of our *Wealth*, which makes the Payment of them easy both to *City* and *Country*. This is evident to every one, who observes the quick Circulation of Money in our *home Trade*; insomuch that neither the *Landlord* complains of *Rent*, the *Tradesman* of *Bills*, nor the *Labourer* of *Wages unpaid*; but *Plenty* and *Cheerfulness* reign in every Part of these happy Realms.

All these invaluable Blessings, so peculiar to us above other Nations, ought to be ascribed to the wise and honest Conduct of the *present Ministry*; at the Head of which one *great Man* presides, who hath
been

been frequently and justly celebrated for taking the publick Interest so much to Heart, that He hardly seems to regard his own *private Advantage*, or That of any of his numerous *Friends and Relations*. He is so far from having any *particular Views* of his own, that He submits the Examination of all his Projects to an *unbought and unbiass'd Parliament*; and daily convinces the World, by all his Actions, that he hath no Occasion to *bribe* and *corrupt* the Guardians of our Liberties, as was done by those self-interested Treasurers *Clifford* and *Danby*; particularly by the *last*; under whose Administration that abominable Practice was grown to such an Height, that it alarm'd all honest Patriots, who by their Speeches and other laudable Methods endeavoured to put a Stop to that infamous Traffick; and to their own Glory, as well as to the immortal Honour of a *British* Parliament, procured several excellent *Votes* and *Resolutions*, which declared it highly criminal, as well as scandalous, for any Member to accept of any *Office* or *Pension* from the *Crown*, without the particular Leave of the *House*.

As these publick-spirited Proceedings were occasioned by the corrupt Management of the *Treasurer* in the last Parliament, it may be proper to give the Reader a short View of his *Character*, and Method of *bribing*.

Bishop *Burnet* tells us that He had a peculiar Way of making his Friends *depend* on Him, and believe that He was *true* to them. He was a sanguine enterprizing Man, and always endeavoured to lull the King asleep, by assuring Him that every thing, both at *home* and *abroad*, both *within Doors* and *without*, should go according to his Mind; and when his *Schemes* failed of Success, He had always some *Excuse* ready to put the *Miscarriage* upon. By these Means he insinuated Himself into a great Degree of Confidence with the *King*; and maintain'd it, for several

veral Years, against the general Clamours and Uneasiness of the People.

As to his Management of the *Parliament*, the same Author tells us, that He varied from the Practice of the former *Treasurer*, who used now and then to take off a great leading Man; but he reckoned that the *major Number* was the surer Game. Wherefore He neglected the great Men, and thought that He could gain ten ordinary Men cheaper than one of them. In short, he had brought bare-faced Corruption so much in Fashion, that nobody seem'd to be asham'd of it, or endeavoured to conceal it; but owned it publickly, and justified it by the *Necessity* of the Times; so that Members of *Parliament*, in those Days, were grown a Kind of staple Commodity, which the corrupt *Treasurer* bought openly at so much per Head, like other Cattle in the Market.

This, says the Historian, might have met with the desired Success, if *They*, who led his Party, had been wise and skilful Men; but He discovered the utmost JEALOUSY of all such; and made it his chief Endeavour to keep them out of *Employment*, lest they should gain too much Credit with the *King*; for which Reason it was observed, during the whole Course of his Administration, that Ignorance and Incapacity were the surest Recommendations to his Favour.

He had likewise found out a Method, beyond all his Predecessors, of making the Committees of Elections subservient to his Designs; which He so far perverted from their original Intention, that instead of sitting to do Justice impartially between contending Candidates, they were made the Tools of his Power, Spleen or Caprice. It signified but little, generally speaking, by what Majority any Man was chosen below, unless He made Himself agreeable above; where, by a Variety of different Precedents, double Returns, controverted Votes, and sometimes without any Reason at all, or even the least Appearance of any Reason, He had

had it always in his own Power to nominate the *sitting Member*.

This was, at length, carried to so scandalous an Height, that a Man was hardly sure of his *Seat*, tho' He was *unanimously* elected, unless He previously made his Application to the *Treasurer*, and obtained his Consent to stand for a *Place*, where his Lordship had not the least Interest or Pretension, either as a *private Man* or a *Minister of State*.

This brings to my Mind a Story, which I have somewhere read, and I think of the *same Treasurer*; who having married one of his *Daughters* to the eldest Son of an *Earl*, set up the *young Lord* for a *Manager of Elections*; the Decision of one of which was so scandalously unjust, that when his *Father-in-law* asked Him, upon returning from the House, how Things went, He answered, *very well; for we have voted that forty six are more than sixty four*.

These Proceedings, in the *last, dissolved Parliament*, rendered it so generally odious amongst all Men, who wished well to their Country, that it occasioned the vigorous and honest Resolutions before-mentioned. But as that Parliament was not permitted to sit long enough to pass those excellent Votes into Acts, the Subject of *Pensions* was resumed, in the following Parliament, by Sir *Francis Winnington* (the great Ancestor of that *worthy Patriot*, who makes so shining a Figure in this Parliament) and the fatal Consequences of such *Corruption* are set forth, by Him, in so plain and strong a Light, that I chuse to conclude this Paper with Part of that *Speech*, which must render his Memory dear to every honest and uncorrupted *Briton*.

Mr. SPEAKER,

“ **T**HE last House of Commons being sensible
 “ how narrowly this Nation escaped being
 “ ruined by a Sort of Monsters, called PENSIONERS,
 “ who

“ who sat in the late *long Parliament*, had entered
 “ into a Consideration, how to prevent the like from
 “ coming into future Parliaments; and in order
 “ thereto resolv’d, that they would severely chastise
 “ some of Those, who had been guilty, and make
 “ the best Laws they could to prevent the like for
 “ for the future. And for that Purpose, a *Committee*
 “ was appointed, of which Mr. Serjeant Gregory, now
 “ Judge Gregory, was Chairman; by which, many
 “ Papers relating to that Affair came into his Hands.
 “ Sir, I think it a Business of so great Importance,
 “ that it ought never to be forgotten, nor the Pro-
 “ secution of it deferred. I have often heard, that
 “ *England* can never be destroy’d but *by itself*. To
 “ have *such Parliaments*, was the most likely Way
 “ that ever was invented. I remember a *great*
 “ *Lawyer* said in this House, when it was debated
 “ in the last Parliament, that it was TREASON; and
 “ he gave many learned Arguments to make it out.
 “ Whether it be so or no, I will not now offer to
 “ debate. But I think that when *They*, who are the
 “ Legislators of the Nation, take *Bribes* to undermine
 “ the Laws and Government of this Nation, They
 “ ought to be chastised as *Traytors*. It was my For-
 “ tune to sit here a little while in the *long Parliament*.
 “ I did observe that all Those, who had *Pensions*,
 “ and most of Those, who had *Offices*, voted all of a
 “ Side, as They were directed by some *great Officer*,
 “ as exactly as if their Business in this House had
 “ been to preserve their *Pensions* and *Offices*, and
 “ not to make Laws for the Good of *Them*, who
 “ sent them here. How such Persons could any
 “ way be *useful* for the Support of the Government,
 “ by preserving a fair Understanding between the
 “ King and his *People*; but, on the contrary, how
 “ dangerous to bring in *arbitrary Power*, I leave to
 “ every Man’s Judgment. They were so far from
 “ being the *true Representatives of the PEOPLE*, that
 “ they

“ they were a *distinct, middle Interest* between the
“ *King and the People*; and their chief Business was
“ to serve the End of some great *Minister of State*,
“ though never so *opposite to the true Interest of the*
“ *Nation.*”

C.D.

From my own Chambers.

I Have often wonder'd, that our *British Poetry* should be at so low an Ebb, under the Administration of GENTLEMEN, who have distinguished themselves in nothing more remarkably than their Encouragement of *Arts and polite Learning*. Yet This is so notoriously true, that a Man, who reads over the late Compositions of some eminent Hands, cannot help pitying the Case of their *Patrons*, who have been so liberal to the *Muses* to so little Purpose. It is indeed unaccountable how Men, of the least Genius, can perform so wretchedly on so glorious a Subject. All their Productions are either cold and spiritless, or forced, fustian, and incomprehensible. They want even the common Knack of Versification; and as to Perspicuity and Ease, which are the chief Beauties of Writing, They seem to have no Notion of them. Their *Panegyrics* are meer Rhapsodies of commonplace Stuff, applied to every Man alike, who happens to be in *Power or Favour*, without Delicacy, Judgment, or Distinction.

As This is the Method of writing now in Vogue, I was, I confess, not a little pleased with the Perusal of a short *Poem*, just published, in a quite different Strain, occasion'd by his Majesty's late Journey to *Cambridge and New Market*, written by EUSTACE BUDGELL Esq; a Gentleman who hath, long ago, oblig'd the Town with several polite Pieces, in Verse and Prose, which were universally admired, at the Time

when they were published, and procured him the Character of one of the finest Writers of the Age.

His *Dedication* to the QUEEN, prefixed to this Poem, seems to answer the true Design of such Addresses, as it is built on Topicks, for which only the greatest Princess upon Earth ought to be commended. He celebrates Her, not for being a *Queen*, but for being a *good Queen*; not for the meer Possession of a *Crown*, but for those *Qualities*, which deserve and adorn it; for Her *conjugal Virtues*, Her *Taste of Letters*, and Regard for *Merit*, which shine so eminently in her present Majesty; and the *two last*, as Mr. *Budgell* justly observes, made the Reign of her great Predecessor, Queen ELIZABETH, so truly glorious.

There is one Passage in this Dedication so very remarkable, that I cannot help transcribing it.

“ *Isabella, of Castile*, with equal Wit and Reason,
“ used to tell her royal Consort, *Ferdinand the Ca-*
“ *tholick*, that in a Court there ought to be no
“ OTHER FAVOURITES, than the QUEEN Favourite to
“ the KING, and the KING Favourite to the QUEEN.”

In the *Poem* itself, the several Incidents, which arose from his Majesty's late Journey to *Cambridge* and *New Market*, are beautifully touch'd. The Thoughts are natural, the Compliments well turn'd, the Versification easy, and the Expression masculine.

The Description of his Majesty's Reception and Behaviour in the *Senate-House* at *Cambridge* is, in my Opinion, very just and poetical.

But now, assembled with his learned Seers,
Such is his Love of *Arts*, the King appears.
In graceful Order all around him stand
The letter'd Youth, the Hopes of *Britain's* Land;
Taught here with Vice to wage successful War,
To grace the *Senate*, *Pulpit*, and the *Bar*.
Well pleas'd their flowing Habits to behold,
Their learned Rites and Forms ordain'd of old.

O'er all the Dome he casts his ravish'd Eyes,
And feels new Pleasures in his Breast arise;
Whilst every Rank with rival Powers contend,
Which most the royal Virtues shall commend;
His God-like Acts alternate they rehearse,
In strong Orations some, and some in smoother Verse.

Mean while great BRUNSWICK, nodding from his
Confirms their Rights, and yet asserts his own. (Throne,
By his creating Voice, propitious, wise,
Physicians, Lawyers, and Divines arise;
Ev'n here the regal Grandeur He maintains,
And in the *Council of the Muses* reigns.

But what I am most of all pleased with in this
Poem, is that artful Transition, which the Author
makes from his Description of the Horse-Races at
New Market, to that glorious Action at OUDENARD,
in which his Majesty gave such signal Proofs of his
personal Courage and Bravery.

On this distinguish'd Day, the noble Breed
Seem'd to exert a more than usual Speed,
As if, by Instinct, each contending Horse
Knew that *Britannia's* King beheld the Course.

And yet, O Prince, with far superior Grace,
Might the proud Species boast their generous Race,
Did they but know, on *Oudenarda's* Plain,
How greatly one illustrious Steed was slain,
Well pleas'd his Life in Battle to resign,
Pierc'd with the fatal Ball, which threaten'd *Thine*!

On that important Day, well-known to Fame,
And made immortal by thy glorious Name,
When, like a Tempest, in *Europa's* Right,
Thy martial Genius urg'd Thee to the Fight,
Where-e'er the Fury of the Battle rag'd,
Where-e'er the thickest of her Foes engag'd,
There wast Thou seen, too prodigal of Life,
Whilst thy rash Valour turn'd the doubtful Strife.

The *Gauls* retreating, yet ashamed to see
The Fortune of the Day over-ruled by Thee,
By Thee alone (a single, youthful Hand)
Boil'd with fresh Rage; and, yet afraid to stand,
Like the old *Parthians*, fighting as they fled,
Aim'd all the War at thy devoted Head.

Yet whatever Beauties I may fancy I have discovered in this Piece; or, however the Generality of the World may think fit to approve of it; I am very doubtful what Reception it will meet with amongst a *certain Set of Courtiers*; and am indeed somewhat surprized that a *Gentleman*, who hath seen so much of the World, and formerly been a *Courtier* Himself, should imagine that it was sufficient for Him to say a great many handsome Things of his *Prince*, without including *One* of his *Ministers* in the same Compliment. Some of his Friends, I find, are apprehensive that this Omission will deprive his *Poem* of all other Recommendation, except That of its own *Merit*; and for my part indeed, if He had done me the Honour to have consulted me on this Occasion, I should have advised Him to have flung in, at least, a small *Episode* in Honour of all those *incomparable Persons*, who shine, at present, at the Head of Affairs. But, perhaps, what induced this Gentleman to be so very sparing of his Compliments, might be an Opinion that it would have lessen'd the just Praise of his *Prince*, to have put Him on a *Level* with any of his *Servants*; or that even their Modesty would be offended at seeing themselves placed in such an indecent Light. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the present Manners and Genius of the *Court*, to determine how far this Delicacy of Procedure may be agreeable to that Climate; though I have seen some *late Pieces*, address'd to his *Majesty*, which, upon Perusal, appear'd to be little more than a Muster-Roll of his *Officers*; and I am very confident, that if such

a Man as Cardinal WOLSEY was at the Head of Affairs, He would not be satisfied without appearing, at least, Cheek by Jowl with his Sovereign, if He did not, according to the constant Style of his *late Eminence*, positively insist on having the FIRST PLACE. D.



N^o 102. SATURDAY, *June 15, 1728.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,



Do not think that you have yet sufficiently enlarged on the Detriment, which the Publick receives from *Monopolies* or *Ingrossing* of every Kind, whether *political* or *civil*. They are all most certainly very destructive to the Good of the Community, and injurious to the Subject.

He who, against the Day of Scarcity, hoards up Corn, to take Advantage of the Necessities of the Poor, ought to be treated as a publick Enemy; and the Man, who endeavours at any Time to *ingross* the Countenance and Favour of his *Prince*, is a *Monopolist* equally bad and detrimental to the Society. He robs his Brethren of the Sunshine; and tho' he should not make any very bad Use of his Credit with his Sovereign, it is injurious enough; but if he takes Pains to gain his royal Master's Favour, only to *deceive* him; if he keeps himself in his Trust and Presence, to support the *Wrongs* he has done him, and to pre-

vent the Discovery of any *Frauds* he has committed; if he stirs not from his Ear, lest the Voice of *Truth* should reach it; if he endeavours to keep Possession of him, as of a Garrison, for his own *Security only*; He is a very dangerous Enemy to the Publick. But if he goes yet farther, and endeavours to insinuate that *He* and *He only* has Ability and Wisdom sufficient to administer, and that *Others*, whose Capacity is as well known, and whose Integrity is much more unquestionable, are *dangerous* and *wayward Malecontents*; such a Man, I say is guilty of a Crime little less than that of pouring *Poison* into the Ears of his Sovereign.

In the Reign of King *James the first*, there was an extraordinary *Monopoly* attempted by some People, whose Avarice and Ambition came up very near to their Assurance. In order to ingratiate themselves with the King, and to *ingross* all Favours and Preferments to *Themselves* and their *immediate Dependants*, they had UNDERTAKEN that the King's Business should pass in the *House of Commons* as his Majesty could wish. This occasioned great Heat and Uneasiness in that House; and Sir *Francis Bacon*, then Attorney-General, hath these remarkable Expressions in a Speech in Parliament on this Occasion.

———“ That private Men should *undertake* for the
 “ Commons of *England*. why! a Man might as well
 “ *undertake* for the four Elements. It is a Thing so
 “ giddy and so vast, as cannot enter into the Brain
 “ of a sober Man; ——— especially in a new Par-
 “ liament, when it was impossible to know who
 “ should be of the Parliament, and when all Men,
 “ who know ever so little of the Constitution of this
 “ House, do know it to be so open to *Reason*, as Men
 “ do not know, when they enter into these Doors,
 “ what Mind themselves will be of, until they hear
 “ things argued and debated; much less can any Man
 “ make a *Policy of Assurance* what Ship shall come
 “ safe into Harbour in these Seas. I have heard of
 “ Under-

“ *Undertakings* of several Kinds. There were *Under-*
“ *takers* for the Plantations of *Derry* and *Colerain* in
“ *Ireland*, the better to command and bridle those
“ Parts. There were, not long ago, some *Under-*
“ *takers* for the *North-West Passage*; and now there
“ are some *Undertakers* for the Project of *dressed* and
“ *died Cloaths*; and in short, every Novelty useth to
“ be strengthened and made good by a Kind of *Un-*
“ *dertaking*. But for the antient Parliament of *England*,
“ which moves in a certain Manner and Sphere, to be
“ *undertaken*; it passes my Reach to conceive what
“ it should be. Must we be all *died* and *dressed*, and
“ no pure *White* among us? Or must there be a *new*
“ *Passage* found for the *King's Business*, by a Point of
“ the Compass, that was *never sailed by before*? Or
“ must there be some *Forts* built in this House, that
“ may *command* and *contain the rest*? Mr. Speaker, I
“ know but *two Forts* in this House, which the King
“ ever hath; the *Fort of Affection*; and the *Fort of*
“ *Reason*; the one commands the *Hearts*; the other
“ commands the *Heads*; and others I know none.

—— “ Then for the King, nothing can be more
“ opposite, *ex Diametro*, to his End and Hopes than
“ *This*; for you have heard him profess, like a King,
“ and like a *gracious King*, that He doth not so much
“ respect his *present Supply*, as this Demonstration,
“ that the *People's Hearts* are more knit to him than
“ before. Now then, if the Issue shall be *This*, that
“ whatsoever shall be done for *Him*, shall be thought
“ to be done by a *Number of Persons*, who shall be
“ *laboured* and *packt*; *This* will rather be a Sign of
“ *Diffidence* and *Alienation*, than of a *natural Benevo-*
“ *lence* and *Affection* in his People at home, and rather
“ Matter of *Disreputation* than of Honour abroad.
“ So that, to speak plainly to you, the King had bet-
“ ter call for a *new Pack of Cards* than play upon
“ *These*, if they be *packt*; and then, for the People,
“ it is ever my Manner to look as well beyond a Par-
“ liament

“ *liament as upon a Parliament*; and if they abroad
 “ shall find themselves betray’d by Those, who are
 “ their *Deputies* and *Attorneys* here, it is true we
 “ may *bind* them and *conclude* them, but it will be
 “ with such *Murmurs* and *Insatisfaction* as I should
 “ be loth to see.”

It might probably be from this Notion of *Parliament Undertakers*, that Those, who voted constantly under their Direction, without any regard to Right or Wrong, were called *dead Men*.

The worshipful Company of *Upholders*, indeed, are the People, who copy the nearest and keep up to their great Original of being *Undertakers-General* in the strictest and the closest Manner. *First*, As the whole Charge, to which they put their *Patients*, is of no Use to the *Persons*, on whom it is bestowed. *2dly*, As it serves only to enrich the *Undertaker*, at the Expence of the Purses and Vanity of the *Living*. And, *3dly*, As the great Profit, which these *Undertakers* receive, is from *dead Men* only. What Ingenuity to make the *Dead* beneficial to the *Living*; to support their Families, their Pleasures, their Friends, their Acquaintance with the Trouble only of dressing and adorning a *dead Body*? Nor, like any *political Undertakers*, are they ever known to hire *dead Men* to gain them Credit in their Trade, and do their Business in the World as they call it. In some Things indeed, the *Upholder* seems to be very like the *Politician*. They both hire *imaginary Trophies*, and display *counterfeit Banners*. They have both *venal Slaves* and *mercenary Heralds*, as Actors in several *Farces*; and when they have drawn as much from their poor *Clients*, as the Cause will possibly bear; they tell them very plainly it is for their *Reputation* and their *Honour*, and impudently beg a Promise of them, that they may *bury them too*, when they die. The *Politician*, indeed, very often presumes to bury his *best Friends* before they die; and I have known many an honest Gentle-
 man

man, who has had much Trouble and Difficulty to escape being *politically embalmed*, while he has been yet alive. When he was fallen into the Hands of an *Undertaker-General*, he has been told, with very steady Muscles, that it was expected he should intrust him with the whole Care of the Publick; follow him in all his Measures; give up the entire Conduct of himself, in his political Capacity, to his Care only; for that He had *undertaken* the whole Business; and then closed his Discourse with some *Reasons*, that used generally to have their *Weight*. But when the Gentleman, not yet quite disposed to be *buried* by him, has roused himself at the Affront, and began to shew him that he was *alive*, the *Undertaker* has laugh'd it off, and told him he was a very *Prude of a Patriot*, and did not know the World; and talked in a Strain as if he had farmed out every Man's *Understanding* and *Integrity* in the Kingdom.

Whoever therefore suffers himself, by any Prepossession or Prejudice, or Art or Temptation of any Kind, to be wholly led by *another Man*, can only be accounted as a *dead Man*. He is actually in the Hands of an *Undertaker*; who, tho' he endeavours it never so industriously, cannot with all his Art keep him *sweet* while he is above Ground, and makes use of him only to raise his *own Family* and *Fortune*, at the Expence of the *Heirs of the Deceased*.

People, who permit themselves to be thus treated, can only be accounted *Machines* or *Engines*, to be moved by *other Hands* than their own; and these Things would certainly, had old *Isaac Bickerstaff* now lived, have been deliver'd up to the Company of *Up-holders*. They are so many *Statues*, which represent the *Forms* only of some Personages of Fame or Merit, once in the World, that are now fallen into the Hands of an affected and mercenary *Virtuoso*, to whose Vanity or Profit they are wholly subservient; and if they are not to be numbred with his other
super-

superfluous Toys, they are at least the mean Supports of his *Avarice* and *Power*.

The UNDERTAKER-GENERAL engages to perform singly and alone, by the Weight of his proper Abilities, every Thing that is to be done for the Publick; and at the same Time the *modest Quack* declares that *no body can perform the like*; when the Case really is, that no body is wicked and weak enough to perform the like; and he deals by the *Body politic*, just as the *Charlatan* does by the *Body natural*. He *bleeds, purges, evacuates* daily; and when he has driven his *Patient* into the worst Habit, and spoiled the *best Constitution*, and what nothing could have hurt, but such Treatment, and such a Practitioner; He tells his Friends in private, with an insolent Sneer, that before he *undertook* this Patient, his Health was too robust and vigorous; that now he had broke him to his purposes, he would drive him whither and in what Manner he pleased; and in This he think he acts politically, as knowing well that should his *Patient* exercise his Understanding only so far as to dare to remove himself out of such Hands, he might by *good Management*, and the *bona Stamina* of an once sound Constitution, recover his Health again, and call his *unnatural Doctor* to a strict Account for *Male-practice*. Such Men as These, whatever *Titles*, or *Dignities*, or *Robes of Honour* their Crimes may have purchased for them, are, in the Eyes of all virtuous and reflecting Men, so many gay *Pageants* only, that glare for a Day and are no more. I beg leave to conclude with some Lines from SHAKESPEAR to this Purpose.

Let none presume
To wear an *undeserved Dignity*.
O! that *Estates*, *Degrees* and *Offices*
Were not deriv'd corruptly, and that *clear Honour*
Were purchased by the *Merit* of the Wearer.

How

How many then should *cover*, that stand *bare*?
 How many be *commanded*, that *command*?
 How much *low Peasantry* would then be glean'd
 From the true Seed of *Honour*? and how much *Honour*
 Pickt from the *Chaff* and *Ruin* of the Times
 To be *new Varnisht*?

R.

*I am, Sir, &c.**From my own Chambers.*

HAVING taken the Liberty, in my last, to censure Mr. BUDGELL for publishing a Panegyrick on the *King*, without taking the least Notice of any of his *Ministers*, I think myself obliged to do Justice to another Piece, just published, by recommending it as a perfect Model of *this Kind of Writing*. It is annexed to a Poem sacred to the Memory of King *William the III^d*, printed for *J. Roberts* in *Warwick-Lane*, and entitled, *Verses on the Recovery of the Lord TOWNSHEND, humbly inscribed to the Right Honourable Sir ROBERT WALPOLE*. The Author of it is Mr. LEONARD HOWARD, a Gentleman, who, as I am informed, hath an Employment in the *Post-Office*; and indeed, by the Spirit of his writing, discovers the Effects of that generous Encouragement, which his noble *Patron* is so remarkable for extending to the *Muses*. I beg Leave to transcribe the whole; and desire the Reader to take notice how artfully he introduces the *King*, in order to make his Compliment to those great Men.

Our Fears for TOWNSHEND now are gladly o'er,
 And Britons feel their pious Grief no more.
 Heav'n would not yet the noble Guest receive,
 Nor of so just a Man the World bereave;

But was the gracious Guardian of his Breath,
And stopt the Hand of * *unobserving* Death.

To you, great Sir, who all his Labours share,
And jointly make your Country's Cause your Care,
The humble Muse directs her joyful Lays,
And would in † TOWNSHEND's, sing a WALPOLE's
Alike tenacious of *Britannia's* Fame, [Praise;
Alike deserving of a Patriot's Name.]

'Tis well for || us, and royal BRUNSWICK's Cause,
(The Guardian of our Liberty and Laws)
TOWNSHEND appears again to serve the State,
On whom, with You, good Mens Affections wait.
Whilst glorious GEORGE rules happy *Britain's* Realm,
And ‡ *Ministers like You* are at the Helm,
In vain the World with Faction may be tost,
Such skilful Pilots will secure our Coast.

Oh! Learned FREIND, who has't display'd thy Art,
And driv'n Diseases from the Statesman's Heart,
Accept the Praise a thankful Kingdom gives,
A Praise so justly due, when TOWNSHEND lives.

D.

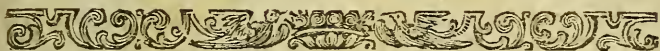
* That is, *Death* had like to have snatched Him away
in an Hurry, without taking Notice *how great a Man He*
was. Exceedingly beautiful and poetical!

† This seems to be an Imitation of that celebrated Line
in *Virgil*,

Qui BAVIUM non odit, amet tuum

|| Meaning, as we may suppose, the Poet himself and the
Gentleman at the head of his Office.

‡ How strong and finely turned is this Compliment, by
insinuating that the Welfare of *Great Britain* does not so
much depend on Majesty's royal Wisdom and Goodness,
as on the Administration of Lord—— and Sir——? This
is indeed the true Strain of *Court Panegyrick*, which Mr.
Howard seems to have hit upon, beyond any of the Moderns;
not excepting even the present excellent *Laureat*, and some
other *Bards of State*.

N^o 103. SATURDAY, *June 22, 1728.* —

Servetur ad imum

Qualis ab Incepto processerit & sibi constet.

HOR.



PON taking a cursory Review of my Works, since I commenced a *political Writer*, I find myself under a very early Engagement to my Readers to give them a compendious History of the Principles of *Whiggism*, as they were originally professed by Men of that Denomination, and as They influenced their Conduct in publick Affairs.

I have continued thus long indebted to the Publick from the great Hopes, which I entertained (founded, as I thought, on a very fair Prospect) of seeing the Distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory* intirely abolished, upon the Accession of his present Majesty to the Throne. But since *some Persons* find too much Account in keeping this mischievous Spirit of *Division* alive, ever to give their Consent to a *Coalition*; and as a *certain Court-Writer* hath lately taken great Pains to justify this Distinction of *Parties*; it cannot be improper for us to look back to those Times, when the Denomination of *Whigs* first took its Rise, and enquire into their *original Principles* and *Conduct*; from whence we shall be best able to judge *what Sort of Men* are, at present, most properly intituled to *that Character*.

The People of *England* were, in general, grown so uneasy under the various Alterations and Confusions, which had been introduced by the civil Wars, and the Usurpation of *Cromwel* and his Successors in Power, that they were heartily desirous to see the Government settled on its antient Foundation; and, for that End, concurred in bringing about the *Restoration* of the Royal Family. Upon this great Turn of Affairs, as it too often happens upon such Occasions, the People run out of one Extreme into another. They retained so lively a Sense of the late Distractions and Calamities, that they thought the new Government could not be established on too sure a Foundation; and from being averse to the very Title of a *King*, seemed to grow fond of *absolute Monarchy*, by the Concessions, which they made, and were farther ready to make. In short, they were quite intoxicated with Joy and Loyalty; and would, in all Probability, have given up their Liberties at once, had it not been for two or three *honest, great Men*, who happened to be, at that Time, in the highest Confidence with the King, and did all in their Power to discourage and prevent such an Attempt. Yet notwithstanding this rare and happy Circumstance, the People did grant *too much*, and gave the *Perogative* such an additional Weight, as in a few Years after brought our legal Constitution once more on the very Brinks of Ruin; for when these worthy Patriots lost their Influence at Court, the succeeding Ministers instilled arbitrary Notions into the *King*; loaded the *People* with heavy Burthens; and made almost daily Incroachments on their Liberties; who, when the first Torrent of their Zeal was over, began to repent of their *Liberality* and complain of the *Measures* then on Foot. From hence proceeded the two Parties, called the *Court Party* and the *Country Party*, who were soon after distinguished by the Names of *Whigs* and *Tories*, by way of mutual Reproach.

As the *Tories* in general justified the Proceedings of the *Court*, the *Whigs* opposed them, both within Doors and without, in many Particulars; of which the *English History* affords us the following Instances.

One of the first Things, which gave them Umbrage, was the Establishment of a *Body-Guard* for the *King*, instead of relying, as our former Kings had done, on his own Conduct and the Affections of his People. But, perhaps, considering the calamitous Fate of his *Father*, and the *small Number* of those Troops, this Precaution might have been judged reasonable and over-looked, had it not been for an Apprehension that such a Precedent might be the Introduction of *standing Armies* in *England*, which Experience soon proved to be too just. They thought it inconsistent with a free Government for the Prince to have any considerable Number of *regular Forces*, in *constant Pay*, and absolutely under his *own Command*; as it manifestly tended to render their Liberties precarious, and entirely dependent on his *Will*; whereas they had little Reason to apprehend any Danger of this Kind from the *Militia*, the antient Strength of the Kingdom, which being either composed of Themselves, or paid immediately by Themselves, could hardly have been brought to act against the *Liberty of the People*; even though the *Lords Lieutenants*, their Generals, who were appointed by the Prince, should have commanded them to do it; yet even this Power in the Crown gave so much Jealousy to the People, that it was one of the principal Points, which obstructed the Scheme of Accommodation between the *late King* and the *Parliament*.

The *Whigs* were always immoveable Adherents to the *Protestant Religion*, in Opposition to the Growth of *Popery* in these Kingdoms, not only as it was the most agreeable to the Purity and Simplicity of the *Gospel*, but as it was likewise the strongest Bulwark of our *civil Liberties*.

Another favourite and fundamental Point, amongst those *antient, genuine Whigs*, was the Liberty of *Parliament*; by which I mean the Freedom of *Elections*, and the Prohibition of all *Influence*, except That of *Reason*, in the *House of Commons*. They looked upon all Application of Money out of the *Treasury*, in order to corrupt *Elections*, as the most dangerous Infringement of the *Liberty* of the People, and treated *Pensioners, Creatures in Place, and Court-Tools*, who prostituted themselves for Hire, as the most dangerous Traytors and Enemies to their *King*, as well as to their *Country*.—But This hath been sufficiently explained in a late Paper.

They esteemed the *Liberty of the Press* to be the next Bulwark of our Constitution, and in no small Measure, the Security of the *other*; for which Reason they asserted the Right of *Englishmen* to publish their Sentiments upon the most important Occasions, and put it in Practice, with *great Freedom*, notwithstanding the *restrictive Laws*, which were then in Being. I have already observed that the leading *Whigs*, as soon as they came into Power, took care to see these *Restraints* abolished; and that *this Liberty* hath been continued to be asserted and exercised by all succeeding *Whigs*, in every Reign; particularly by some *great and honourable Persons*, at present in Power, whose Example will be always sufficient to justify *Us* in the Practice of the same Liberty, notwithstanding the pitiful Attempts and ridiculous Distinctions of some late *Pretenders to their Favour*.

The *Whigs*, of those Times, were likewise against all Kind of Measures or Projects, which tended to exalt the *Prerogative* over the *Liberties* of the People; especially in *Courts of Justice*. They remember'd what terrible Havock it made in the *Star-Chamber*; which fix'd so deep an Impression on their Minds, that they not only got that *infamous Court* abolished by Act of Parliament; but vigorously opposed, as far as lay in
their

their Power, all Kinds of *Prosecution* and Methods of *Oppression*, which seemed to be built on *that Model*.

They were also remarkable for opposing the Imposition of *exorbitant Taxes*, or the Grant of *implicit Subsidies*, without *Appropriation* or *Account*; as well as all *unnecessary Wars*, *romantick Expeditions* and *needless Expences*. They were great Assertors of the *Liberties of the City of London*, against the Incroachments of the *Court*; true Friends to our *Trade* and *Manufactures* at home, and consequently to our *Colonies* and *Plantations* abroad. They judged it the Interest as well as Duty of Men in Power to encourage *Learning*, *Abilities* and *Merit* of every kind. Their Principles obliged them to pay the utmost Obedience to *good Princes*, at the same Time that it left them at Liberty to *resist bad ones*; But they always made a Distinction between the *Prince* and his *Ministers*: They esteemed all *Monopolies*, *Engrossing* and *Plundering*, to be publick Grievances; and thought it the highest Degree of Insolence in any *Minister* to vent the Redundancy of his SPLEEN, or supply the Deficiency and Impotence of his ARGUMENTS, by the Authority of his PRINCE, or the Sanction of PARLIAMENT.

Above all, They were irreconcilable Enemies to the Growth of the Power of *France*; and esteemed it the greatest Solecism in Politicks for *England* to enter into any such Degree of Friendship with *that Nation*, as might contribute to give them any additional Weight; much less to put the BALANCE of Europe entirely in their Hands. I could quote Books, without number, written by Men of the best Reputation of *that Party*, upon this Subject, within these forty Years past. But it is a Point so generally known, that an Attempt to prove it might seem impertinent and ridiculous. Every body remembers the Manner, in which Sir *Richard Steele* represented the *French Faith*; and, to mention no more, the late excellent Mr. *Addison* hath, in

many Parts of his Writings, insisted on the same Point; particularly in his *Freeholders*; which I chuse to quote, because they were written in the *last* Reign, when we were in *Alliance* with *France*; and had, perhaps, more just, political Reasons to depend on their *Sincerity* than at any Time, either before or since. In one of those Pieces, to shew the Preference of the *Whig-Scheme* to that of the *Tories*, He hath the following remarkable Paragraph. “ And here let any
 “ impartial Man put this Question to his own Heart,
 “ whether *that Party* doth not act reasonably, who
 “ look upon the *Dutch* as their genuine Friends and
 “ Allies; considering that They are of the *reformed*
 “ *Religion*; that They have assisted us in the greatest
 “ Times of *Necessity*; and that They never can en-
 “ tertain a Thought of *reducing us under their Power*;
 “ or, on the other hand, let Him consider whether
 “ *that Party* acts with more Reason, who are the
 “ avowed Friends of a *Nation*, that are of the *Roman*
 “ *Catholick Religion*; that have cruelly *persecuted* our
 “ Brethren of the Reformation; that have made At-
 “ tempts, in all Ages, to *conquer this Island*; and
 “ supported the Interest of *that Prince*, who abdi-
 “ cated the Throne, and had endeavoured to subvert
 “ our *civil and religious Liberties*.”

In another Place He says, that the *BRITISH Interest*
 is ALWAYS *opposite to That of the FRENCH*.

Having mentioned the *Freeholders*, in one of which that excellent Writer gives us the *political Faith* of a *Tory*, I will conclude this Paper with the *political Creed* of a *MODERN WHIG*, fairly deduced from the Writings, which have been published against me, within this Year or two past.

Article 1. That the People of *England* ought to enjoy an *absolute Liberty*, under a *Tory Administration*, not only to act and write against *Ministers*, but even to abuse the Person of the *Prince*, if They think fit; but that when Men, who call themselves *Whigs*,
 suc-

succeed in Power, a Restraint ought to be put upon such Practices.

2. That the *Liberty of the Press*, without any Limitations, is the Birth-right of every free *Briton*, when the *Tories* are in Power; but degenerates into *Faction* and *Licentiousness*, under a *Whig-Administration*.

3. That as long as the *Protestant Religion* continues to be established amongst us, our *civil Liberties* can never be in Danger.

4. That it is the undoubted Privilege of every Subject in these Kingdoms to ridicule, vilify, and expose the whole System of *Christianity*, though established, in the most solemn Manner, by the *Laws of the Land*; but if any Man presumes, even by *Innuendo*, to censure the Conduct of any *Minister* (though He is a *Creature*, who subsists only by the *Pleasure of his Prince*) he ought to be severely *fin'd*, *pillory'd*, and *imprison'd*.

5. That a *Libel* is, whatever may happen to give Offence to a *great Man*.

6. That the Proceedings of the *Star-Chamber*, and other *arbitrary Courts*, in former Reigns, are proper *Precedents*, under a *free Government*, for the Punishment of Men, who are guilty of *such Writings*.

7. That a *Tory Minister*, who manages by *Bribery* and *Corruption*, ought to lose his Head; but when *Whigs* are at the Helm, They become *necessary* for the good Order and Government of the State.

8. That the *Humours of Men*, however *vicious*, must be indulged, even at the Expence of *Virtue* and *Morality*.

9. That Men of *great Vices* and *little Abilities* are generally of more Importance to the State, than others of the most *shining Virtues* and *exalted Capacities*.

10. That it was a plain Sign of *Male-Administration*, and highly criminal in *Sejanus*, *Wolsey*, and *Buckingham* to engross the publick Honours and Employments; to amass *immense Wealth*; build *sumptuous Palaces*;

Palaces; and vie with their Princes in *Magnificence*; but the same Practices in a *Whig-Favourite* are undeniable Marks of *publick Spirit*, *Frugality*, and good *Management*.

11. That *large, standing Armies*, composed of mercenary Troops, are, under a *Tory Administration*, great *Grievances*, and very dangerous to the Liberties of the People; but, under the Direction of *Whigs*, nothing can be more *desirable*, or a better Security to our Constitution.

12. That *Ignorance* is the Parent of *Obedience* in the State, in the same Manner that it is said to be the Mother of *Devotion* in the Church; and therefore *that the People ought not to be made acquainted with any Transactions of State*.

13. That it is most for the Advantage of *Great Britain* to rely on *those Nations*, which are naturally its most *inveterate Enemies*.

From these Articles, to which I could add many others of the same Kind, it appears that *modern Whiggism* is only the *Practice of the worst Principles*, that were ever imputed to the *Tories*. But as my great Predecessor, Mr. *Addison*, did not include, under the Name of *Tories*, all Persons, who had formerly passed under that Denomination; so I desire, in like Manner, not to be understood to mean that all our *modern Whigs*, much less that *any Persons in Authority*, are Men of such an *inconsistent Character*. My only Design is to mark out some *prostitute, little Wretches*, who have lately made an aukward and fruitless Attempt to recommend themselves, under the Disguise of *Whigs*, by *such infamous Doctrines*. I have the Pleasure to add, that the antient Spirit of *this Party* is so far from being extinct, that we see it daily increase amongst us; and I doubt not, that it will be exerted, upon any proper Occasion, with as much Zeal and Vigour, as it hath formerly been, in Defence of our *legal Rights and Constitution*. But there

is no necessity of insisting upon This any farther, since I must do the Gentlemen, at present in Power, the Justice to acknowledge, that as they have always professed the Principles of *Whiggism*, and been remarkable for putting them in *Practice* under several Administrations, so they seem to be sensible, by their *present Conduct*, of the Absurdity and Folly of pursuing *contrary Measures*.

D.



N^o 104. SATURDAY, *June 29.* 1728.

Senties qui sim.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,



is methinks enough to deter a prudent Man from engaging in any *Plots* or *Conspiracies* against the State, to consider by what a Variety of strange and unaccountable Accidents such Designs have been frequently discover'd. It is well known that the *Roman Capitol* was once saved by the Cackling of a *Goose*; and a remarkable Conspiracy was lately discovered in this Kingdom, by the Circumstance of a *Lap-Dog*; which, being sent as a Present from abroad, happen'd to fall into wrong Hands.

Persons, who are well versed in general History, will easily recollect several Instances of this Nature in almost every Nation; though perhaps none abounds with them more than our own.

The

The *Meal-Tub* Plot, the *Band-box* Plot, and the *Screw-pin* Plot, are Things, which come within every body's Memory or Reading; but I have lately met with an old Manuscript, containing some Memoirs of the *English* Nation above two hundred Years ago; particularly an Account of a *Plot*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIth, called the *Cod-Fish* Plot; and as I do not remember to have ever seen it mentioned by any other Author, a brief Relation of so memorable an Affair may not be displeasing.

My Author takes notice that a Person being apprehended, upon a Suspicion of his being concerned in some obnoxious Writings against the *Ministers* of those Times, particularly those vile Instruments *Empson* and *Dudley*, there was found upon Him, amongst other Papers, a *Letter* from a Friend in *Kent*; in which He return'd Him Thanks for a *fine Cod-Fish* and a *Barrel of Oysters*. This Letter being carried to a certain minor Minister, who was a Man of great Sagacity and Penetration, and it being a Reign remarkably full of *Plots* and *Conspiracies*, He presently conceived a Suspicion that some dark and treasonable Design was couched under these Words; in which He was farther confirmed by observing, that it was ridiculous to send *Oysters* and *Cod-Fish* into *Kent*, which always supplies *London* with the choicest of those Commodities. It being therefore concluded that the Terms *Cod-Fish* and *Oysters* were only *Types* or *Cyphers*, made use of to signify something else, which it was not proper to explain; and *Perkin Warbeck* being at that Time preparing to invade those Coasts from *France*; He made no doubt that by the *Cod-Fish* must be meant *that Impostor*, and by the *Barrel of Oysters* the *Army*, which He designed to bring over with Him, to support his Pretensions. This was still farther confirmed by an Expression in the Letter, which said *that They came very seasonably*.

The Writer of these *Memoirs* observes that this Accident, as trifling as it might seem to be, had a very good Effect, by putting the Government upon their Guard; and contributing not a little to the Defeat, which that Invader received upon his Landing; though the *Person*, on whom this Letter was seized, as well as *He*, who sent it, escaped the Punishment, which they were thought to deserve, for want of legal Evidence to convict them of a *traitorous Design*.

Though no Historian, as I said before, takes the least Notice of this *Plot*; yet I cannot help thinking, by several parallel Circumstances, that *Beaumont* and *Fletcher* had their Eyes upon it in the following *Scene* of their Play called the *Woman-Hater*; or at least that This is not the only *Plot*, which hath been discovered by a *COD'S HEAD*. Indeed they are pleased to treat it in a ludicrous Manner; but That is not to be wondered at in *Comick Poets*, who are apt to turn the gravest Things into Ridicule.

ACT III. SCENE III.

Enter two Intelligencers, discovering Treason in the Courtier's Words.

1st Intel. “ **T**HERE take your standing. Be
 “ close and vigilant. Here will I
 “ set myself, and let him look to his Language; a
 “ shall know the Duke has more Ears in Court than
 “ two.

2^d Intel. “ I’ll quote him to a tittle. Let him
 “ speak wisely and plainly, and as hidden as a can, or
 “ I shall crush him; a shall not scape Characters; tho’
 “ a speak *Babel*, I shall crush him. We have a For-
 “ tune by this Service hanging over us, that within
 “ this Year or two, I hope we shall be called to be
 “ Examiners, wear politick Gowns guarded with
 “ Cop-

“ Copper-Lace, making great Faces full of Fear and
 “ Office. Our Labours may deserve This.

1st Intel. “ I hope it shall. Why have not many
 “ Men been raised from this worming Trade; first to
 “ gain good Access to *great Men*; then to have Com-
 “ missions out for search; and lastly to be worthily
 “ named at a great *Arraignment*. Yes, and why not
 “ we? They that endeavour well, deserve their Fee.
 “ Close, close, a comes; mark well, and all goes
 “ well.

*Enter Count, * Lazarello, and his Boy.*

Laz. “ Farewel my Hopes, my Anchor now is broken;
 “ Farewel my *quondam* Joys, of which no Token
 “ Is now remaining; such is the sad Mischance,
 “ Where Lady Fortune leads the slippery Dance.
 “ Yet at the length, let me this Favour have,
 “ Give me my Wishes, or a wished Grave.

Count. “ The Gods defend so brave and valiant Maw
 “ Should slip into the never-failing Jaw
 “ Of black Despair; no, thou shalt live and know
 “ Thy full Desires. Hunger, thy antient Foe,
 “ Shall be subdued. Those Guts that daily tumble
 “ Through Air and Appetite, shall cease to rumble;
 “ And thou shalt now at length obtain thy Dish,
 “ That noble part, the sweet HEAD OF A FISH.

Laz. “ Then I am greater than the Duke.

2d Intel. “ There, there’s a notable Piece of Treason;
 “ *greater than the Duke*; mark That.

Count. “ But how, or where, or when This shall
 “ be compass’d, is yet out of my Reach.

Laz. “ I am so truly miserable, that might
 “ I be now knock’d o’th’ Head, with all my Heart
 “ I would forgive a Dog-killer.

Count. “ Yet do I see through this Confusedness
 “ some little Comfort.

* A voluptuous Epicure, who runs through all Kinds of Dangers and Difficulties to indulge his Belly.

Laz. " The Plot, my Lord, as e'er you came of a
 " Woman, discover.

1st Intel. " *Plots, dangerous Plots.* I will deserve
 " by This most liberally.

Count. " 'Tis from my Head again.

Laz. " O that it would stand me, that I might
 " fight, or have some venture for it; that I might
 " be turn'd loose, to try my Fortune amongst the
 " whole Fry in a College, or an Inn of Court; or
 " scramble with the Prisoners in the Dungeon; nay
 " were it set down in the outward Court,
 " And all the Guard about it in a Ring,
 " With their Knives drawn, it were a dismal Sight,
 " And after twenty leisurely were told,
 " I to be let loose only in my Shirt,
 " To try the Valour, how much of the Spoil
 " I would recover from the Enemies Mouths.

Count. " Upon Country People in progress time; and
 " Wilt thou lose this Opinion for the *cold Head of a Fish*?
 " I say, let it go. I'll help thee to as good a Dish of Meat.

Laz. " Gods let me not live, if I do not wonder,
 " Men should talk so prophanely;
 " But it is not in the Power of loose Words,
 " Of any vain or misbelieving Man,
 " To make me dare to wrong thy Purity.
 " Shew me but any Lady in the Court,
 " That hath so full an Eye, so sweet a Breath,
 " So soft and white a Flesh. This doth not lie
 " In almond Gloves, nor ever hath been wash'd
 " In artificial Baths. No Traveller,
 " That hath brought Doctor home with him, hath dared,
 " With all his Waters, Powders, Fucusses,
 " To make thy lovely Corps sophisticate.

Count. " I have it; 'tis now infused; be comforted.

Laz. " Can there be that little Hope yet left in Na-
 " ture? Shall I once more erect up Trophies? Shall
 " I enjoy the Sight of my dear Saint, and bless my
 " Palate with the best of Creatures? Ah, good my
 " Vol. III, M " Lord,

“ Lord, by whom I breathe again, shall I receive this
 “ Being?

Count. “ Sir, I have found by certain Calculation,
 “ and settled Revolution of the Stars, the *Fish* is sent
 “ by the Lord *Gondarino* to his Mercer. Now ’tis a
 “ growing Hope to know where ’tis.

Laz. “ O! ’tis far above the Good of Women.

Count. “ But how to compass it? Search, cast
 “ about, and bang your Brains, *Lazarello*. Thou art
 “ too dull and heavy to deserve a Blessing.

Laz. “ My Lord, I will not be idle. Now, *Lazarello*, think, think, think.

Count. “ Yonder’s my Informer,
 “ And his Fellow with Table-Books. They nod at me.
 “ Upon my Life, they have poor *Lazarello*, that beats
 “ His Brains about no such weighty Matter, in for
 “ *Treason* before This——

Laz. “ My Lord, What do you think, if I should
 “ shave myself, put on Midwives Apparel, come in
 “ with a Handkerchief, and beg a piece for a great-
 “ bellied Woman, or a sick Child?

Count. “ Good, very good.

Laz. “ Or corrupt the waiting Prentice to betray
 “ the Reverfion?

1st *Intel.* “ There’s another Point in’s *Plot*; *corrupted*
 “ *with Money*, to *betray*. Sure ’tis some *Fort* a means;
 “ mark; have a care.

Laz. “ And ’twere the bare Vinegar ’tis eaten with,
 “ it would in some sort satisfy Nature; but might I
 “ once attain the *Dish* itself, though I cut out my
 “ means through Sword and Fire, through Poison,
 “ through any thing that may make good my
 “ Hopes.

2^d *Intel.* “ Thanks to the Gods, and our Officiouf-
 “ nefs, the *Plot*’s discovered. *Fire, Steel, and Poison*;
 “ *burn the Palace*; *kill the Duke*, and *poison his Privy*
 “ *Council*.

Count;

Count. " To the Mercers. Let me see. How, if
" before we can attain the Means to make up our
" Acquaintance, the *Fish* be eaten ?

Laz. " If it be eaten, here he stands, that is the
" most dejected, most unfortunate, miserable, accursed,
" forsaken Slave this Province yields. I will not sure
" out-live it. No, I will die bravely, and like a *Roman* ;
" and after Death, amidst the *Elysian* Shades, I'll meet
" my Love again.

1st *Intel.* " I will die bravely, like a *Roman*. Have
" a care ; mark That ; when he hath done all, he will
" kill himself.

Count. " Will nothing ease your Appetite but This ?

Laz. " No ; could the Sea throw up his Vastness,
" and offer free his best Inhabitants, 'twere not so
" much as a bare Temptation to me.

Count. " If you could be drawn to affect Beef,
" Venison, or Fowl, 'twould be far the better.

Laz. " I do beseech your Lordship's Patience.

" I do confess that in this Heat of Blood,

" I have contemn'd all dull and grosser Meats ;

" But I protest I do honour a Chine of Beef ;

" I do reverence a Loin of Veal ;

" But, good my Lord, give me Leave a little to adore This.

" But, my good Lord, would your Lordship, under
" the Colour of taking up some Silks, go to the Mer-
" cers, I would in all Humility attend your Honour,
" where we may be invited, if Fortune stand pro-
" pitious.

Count. " Sir, you shall work me as you please.

Laz. " Let it be suddenly, I do beseech your Lord-
" ship ; 'tis now upon the Point of Dinner-time.

Count. " I am all yours.

[*Exeunt* Lazarello and *Count.*

1st *Intel.* " Come, let us confer.

" Imprimis, he saith, like a blasphemous Villain,
" he's greater than the Duke. This peppers him,
" and there were nothing else.

2d Intel. " Then he was naming *Plots*. Did you
 " not hear?

1st Intel. " Yes ; but he fell from That unto disco-
 " very, to *corrupt by Money*, and so attain.

2d Intel. " I, I, He meant some *Fort* or *Citadel*
 " the Duke hath——his very Face betray'd his Mean-
 " ing. O! he is very *subtle* and a *dangerous Knave*;
 " but if he deal a-God's Name we shall worm him.

1st Intel. " But now comes the Stroke, the fatal
 " Blow ! *Fire, Sword* and *Poison*. O *Canibal*, {*thou*
bloody Canibal !

2d Intel. " What had become of this *poor State*, had
 " we not been?

1st Intel. " Faith, it had lain buried in its own Ashes,
 " had not a greater Hand been in't.

2d Intel. " But note the Rascal's Resolution, after
 " the Acts done ; because he would avoid all Fear of
 " Torture, and cousten the Law, he wou'd *kill him-*
 " *self*? Was there ever the like Danger brought to
 " light in this Age? Sure we shall merit much,
 " we shall be able to keep two Men a-piece, and a
 " two-hand Sword between us; we will live in fa-
 " vour of the State; betray our *ten* or *twelve Treasons*
 " a Week, and the *People shall fear us*. Come to
 " the Lord *Lucio*; the Sun shall not go down till he
 " be hang'd.

D.

Exeunt.



N^o 105. SATURDAY, July 6; 1728. —

Ut rebus latis sit par mensura malorum. Juv.

IMade a Visit, the other Day, to an ingenious Friend, who was lately returned from his Travels into *Italy*. He has all the Qualifications necessary to Those, who would improve by their Observations; and being well acquainted with the *Antients*, he is fitted to relish the Pleasure, which that Part of the World affords in the *Statues*, *publick Buildings* and other Remains of *Antiquity*. As he used formerly to amuse himself in old *Coins* and *Medals*, I did not doubt that he had spent some of his Time that Way, and, perhaps, had purchased some uncommon ones. He prevented my Enquiry, by shewing me a small but very rare Collection of some of the scarcest *Medals* I have seen; and as most of them were such as had been struck upon some extraordinary Occasions, they furnished us with Subjects for a great deal of entertaining Conversation.

Among the rest, there was one, which catch'd my Eye by its Fairness and Largeness, and engaged my Attention by its Subject. It had the Figure of *SEJANUS* on one Side with this Inscription; *Soli Tiberio secundus*, i. e. *Inferior to Tiberius only*; and on the Reverse, the Fall and Execution of that wicked Minister, with these Words round it; *Peculatus præmia*, i. e. *the Reward of plundering the Publick*. On

the one Side you see him plump, adorned and insolent; on the other, dragg'd to Prison by the Emperor's Command; his *Palaces* and *Statues* pull'd down; and the People justly converting to their own Use the *Riches*, which he had unjustly taken from them.

This put me in mind of some Lines upon the same Subject in *Juvenal*.

— descendunt Statuæ, restemque sequuntur.

Ardet adoratum populo caput, & crepat ingens

SEJANUS; deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda

Fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, patellæ.

Pone domi lauros, duc in Capitolia magnum

Cretatumque bovem; SEJANUS ducitur unco

Spectandus; gaudent omnes; quæ labra? quis ille

Vultus erat?

Which are thus translated by Mr. Dryden.

Down go the Statues————

SEJANUS, almost first of Roman Names,

The great SEJANUS crackles in the Flames.

Form'd in the Forge, the pliant Brass is laid

On Anvils; and of Head and Limbs are made

Pans, Cans, and Pisspots, a whole Kitchen Trade.

Adorn your Doors with Laurels; and a Bull
Milk-white and large lead to the Capitol;

SEJANUS with a Rope is dragg'd along,

The Sport and Laughter of the injur'd Throng.

Good Lord, they cry, what *Ethiop Lips* he has,

How foul a *Snout*, and what a *hanging Face*!

When I had repeated these Lines, my Friend took the *Medal* in his Hand and, in order to shew me that this Study had refreshed his Memory with the *Roman History*, began thus.

How impossible, said he, is it to persuade an *ambitious Man*, that he ought not to court *Felicity* too far,

far, nor weary the favourable Hand of *Fortune*. *Prosperity* is apt to blind the Eyes of the Successful so much, that they cannot discern that the very Essence of *Fortune* is *Vicissitude*; that our greatest Adversities are raised upon our greatest Happiness; and that the wisest Thing that can be done by the wisest Man is, when he finds his *Fortune* in its Declension, and feels it grow faint, to withdraw himself timely from the Danger, which constantly attends upon *Power*; especially when obtained and supported by *corrupt Means*.

In SEJANUS's, we have an Instance of as great a *Rise*, and as sudden a *Fall*, as any History furnishes us with. But as his Promotion was more than was due to his *Merit*, and was effected by *Crimes*; so there was no Severity in his *Fall*, that was not less than those Crimes deserved.

The Account given of him by the Historians of those times is to this purpose. That, in the beginning of his Ministry, he affected to make himself popular by some wholesome Counsels; that he obtained the *Confidence* of his Master by various Artifices, but never enjoy'd his *Affection*; that he did not accomplish his Greatness by any superior Arts of *Policy* or *Ability* (for he was often vanquished by *others* at his own Weapons) but by the *Anger of the Gods* against the State, to which he proved extremely destructive.

He had the Appearance of Frankness and Openness; which at first was mistaken for Honesty and Sincerity; as his Profusion and Want of Oeconomy were for Liberality and Disinterestedness; but it was soon discovered, that he was as careful to disguise his own Counsels, as he was industrious to blacken Those of others; and that he was to the last Degree rapacious and greedy after *Riches* and *Power*.

In publick he was *voluble* rather than *eloquent*; and that *Volubility* was employed in disguising Frauds; screening his Dependants and Creatures; and in colouring

journing the worst Designs with an Appearance of the publick Good.

He had some Art, but no Wisdom; so that his whole Business was the extricating himself or the State out of Difficulties, which neither the Nature of Things, nor the Necessity of Affairs, but his own Rashness or Inability, or Avarice had occasioned.

The *Senate* was extremely necessary to him; and therefore he chiefly cultivated his Power and Interest there; and made a considerable Party, by distinguishing his Followers in it with Honours, Offices and Pensions; and by all Kinds of Corruption so debased the Virtue and Dignity of that Body, that the Emperor himself used frequently to call them, *Hominēs ad servitutem paratos*; i. e. *A Set of Men, grown ripe for SLAVERY*. Nor was there at last any access to Preferments but by *Him*, nor any other way of purchasing his *Friendship* but by *Iniquity*.

Under *such a Minister*, it was not surprizing, that the Affairs of the Empire at *home* were in a declining State, as well as its Glory *abroad*.

For though his Knowledge, and Capacity for *foreign Affairs* were exceedingly narrow, the Honour and Service of his Master abroad suffered not so much for his Want of Ability to manage his Interests (which, however varied and extended, were far from being any *Mystery*) as from his insatiable Lust of Gain; so that he was ever accommodating the *foreign*, as well as *domestick Affairs*, to his own Purposes; and in every *new Law* made at *home*, and every *new Treaty* or *Measure* entered into *abroad*, He always contrived what the Men of Business among us call, a *Job for himself*.

This being his Character, we cannot be surprized to find, on the other Side of the *Medal*, that the *Emperor* (to whom his Artifices were now thoroughly known, and his Arrogance grown as insupportable to *Himself*, as his unexampled, insolent *Defiances* were

to the People) should deliver him up to publick Justice.

When I said that his *Fall* was *sudden*, I meant only as to all *outward Appearance*; for the Historians inform us that the Emperor, his Master, had long resolved, in secret, to discharge Himself of such a *dangerous Minister*; but having suffer'd Him to engross exorbitant Power, and almost share the Sovereignty with Himself, He prudently concealed his Design, and continued the same publick Marks of his Favour, till He had prepared every thing for his Downfal; knowing that the People would be ready, at a Minute's Warning, to concur with him in the Execution of it.

There are many Instances of Nations, undone by such Ministers; but that we may confine ourselves to *Rome*, it was by such Men as *Sejanus* that great Empire was ruin'd. A virtuous Man may be ambitious; but an ambitious Man, without Virtue, can be supported by *Corruption only*.

Corruption produced Slavery. Slavery begot worthless and rapacious Favourites. Those begot Oppression and Poverty. Poverty and Oppression begot Discontents and Rebellions; and from all these Causes, at length, proceeded the final Destruction of *that Empire*.

For *Corruption* is the Cancer of the Body politick; and That is cured by *Amputation only*; nor will That do, unless the Operation be performed before the Infection is diffused thro' all the Members, and the *whole Constitution* becomes tainted with it.

Thus far my Friend—— I was extremely pleased to find that, notwithstanding his Travels into Countries of *Slavery* and *arbitrary Power*, he was still full of those noble and virtuous Sentiments, which are so peculiar to us *Englishmen*, and so much to our Honour.

I took my Leave; but not without his Promise, that he would let me have a Copy of this *Medal* for the Use of my Readers. To which he added, that
he

he would, at the next Visit, entertain me with *another* much more rare and valuable. C.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

YOU have already shewn an honourable Zeal for the Good of your Country in examining into the *State of the publick Debts*; which is certainly as necessary in order to *lessen* them, as it is for *private Persons* to use a good Oeconomy, by looking into their *Accounts and Expences*. Riches and Power are always inseparable; and the Histories of States and Kingdoms inform us, that, as their *Revenues* have been *lessen'd*, or their *Debts increas'd*, their Power has been so much diminish'd, that they could not make a considerable Figure in the World. Nay, sometimes not have been able to defend themselves from Ruin. The *same Causes* will always produce the *same Effects*.

These Considerations induce me to think that it will be of Service to inform you of a Pamphlet lately publish'd; entitled, *The Report of the Commissioners sent into SPAIN, relating to GIBRALTAR, and some other Places; never published before; with authentick Vouchers produc'd by the said Commissioners to prove that there had been great Discouragements to Trade; many extravagant and unnecessary Expences; and great Misapplications of the publick Money in the said Places; and consequently that some Debts of the Nation have been increas'd thereby; or at least have not been lessen'd so much as they might have been; which may be of Service to the present Times.*

If the *Vouchers*, referr'd to by this Pamphlet, were never publish'd before, nor ever taken notice of publicly,

lickly; the Reason of which appears by the said Pamphlet; and if *those Vouchers are authentick*, and answer the Title, as they will effectually do upon Examination; it is of no small Importance to Great Britain, to prevent the *Abuses* and *extravagant Expences*, that have been formerly complain'd of in the said Places, in order to make them more useful and profitable to the Nation.

It may be justly suspected when no Notice is taken of *Abuses* complain'd of, that they will continue; but if any Regard is to be had to *publick Fame*, or to some *publick Prints*, mentioned in the Preface to the aforesaid Pamphlet, some of the *Abuses* specified in the Report have continued. It has appear'd, from time to time, that those Places were not *Free Ports*, at least, *not so free as they ought to have been*; that great Sums of the *publick Money* have been put into *private Pockets*. If it be true, what is said, that a *Dollar* is paid generally, if not always, at *five Shillings per Dollar or more*; and if it has been paid at the same Rate at *Port Mahon*, which is *8 d. or 9 d.* more than the Value of a *Dollar*; This will appear, by the Report of the Commissioners sent into *Spain* from *Lisbon*, N^o. 12. to be one of the same great *Abuses* complain'd of by them, *viz.* that there had been a Profit made of *15 per Cent. or more*, during the whole Course of the War in *Spain*, from *March 1704* to *March 1713*, by computing the Value of the Coin received at a Medium all that time, which ought to have been accounted for to the *Publick*. This Profit, which was made, was a vast Loss to the Service of the War, and a great Increase of the *Expence* of the Garrisons. Some of the *Abuses* at *Gibraltar* had been formerly complain'd of by the *Engineer* there; but without Redress; which occasioned the Expression in one of the *Vouchers*, *that it seem'd as if the Place was then under no body's Care*. It is hoped that the present Ministry, by their Care and Zeal for
the

the publick Good, will use the greatest Frugality and good Management in preserving Places of such Importance to *Great Britain*; which by their happy Situation, especially That of *Gibraltar*, might not only be of great Advantage and Profit to *our* Trade, but might give Laws to great part of the Trade of *Europe*.

O.

I am S I R, &c.



N^o 106. SATURDAY, *July* 13, 1728.



Know no other Difference between an *absolute Monarchy* and a *free Government* than This; that as the *former* consists in the arbitrary, unrestrained Will of *one Man*, it can be supported only by *armed Force*; whereas the very Essence of the *latter* consists in the regular Execution of *known Laws*, made by the Consent of the whole Community. One therefore depends on the *military Power*, and the other on the *civil Power* for its Support.

From hence it follows, that *absolute Government* is only another Word for *military Government*, which may be reciprocally prædicated of each other; for as *absolute Government* cannot subsist without *military Force*, so every Degree of *military Force* is, strictly speaking, *absolute Government*; and every Government, call it by what Name you please, must be allowed to be so far *arbitrary* as it partakes of *military Power*; by which I do not mean that a *free State* cannot raise a sufficient Body of Troops to defend itself in Times of Danger, without altering its Constitution; but

but that a Government then becomes *arbitrary*, when the *Power of the Sword* prevails so far, as to be exercised in any Degree independently of the *civil Power*.

This is so true, that there could not have been such a Thing as *absolute Government* in the World without the Assistance of *armed Force*; for *Liberty* is undoubtedly the original, natural Right of Mankind, which they would not have given up without *Constraint*; and it is a very melancholy, but just, Consideration, that although several States may have enjoyed their *Liberties* for some Time after the *military Power* hath established itself (which is commonly done by imperceptible Degrees) yet History does not afford us one Instance of a People, who have long continued *free* under the Dominion of the *Sword*. *Liberty* hath always been the Sacrifice at last, though it was perhaps made the Pretence for establishing that *Power*, which destroyed it. This was undoubtedly the Case of *Cromwell's Army*; an *Army, that, was raised in Defence of the Cause of Liberty, well-disciplin'd, religious, sober*; and yet even this Army overturned our Constitution, which they were raised to support.

For this Reason all wise Nations have been constantly jealous of what is properly called a *standing Army*; that is, a large Body of *mercenary Troops*, kept up in Times of *Peace*, and absolutely under the Command of the *supreme Magistrate*, without any Dependance on the *People* in general. But our *Constitution* is peculiarly abhorrent of *such a Power*, and incompatible with it, being entirely of a *civil Nature*, and to be maintained only by a *civil Power*.

This is not only our *legal*, but our *natural Constitution* likewise; for as it hath been established by innumerable *Laws* and *Compacts* between the *Prince* and the *People*, during a long Succession of Ages, and often at the Expence of an Ocean of Blood, gloriously

shed in Defence of publick Liberty; so the very *Situation* of our Country, which is surrounded with Rocks and Seas, seems to point out to us our *natural Strength*, and cut off all Pretence for a *numerous, standing, Land Force*.

As These have always been my Sentiments, and I hope the Sentiments of every honest *Briton*, upon this Subject; I was particularly pleased with the Perusal of a seasonable Pamphlet, lately publish'd, and entitled, *Reasons, shewing the Necessity of Reducing the ARMY*; and proving, that the *NAVY of England* is her only *natural Strength and Security*.

The Author of this Discourse undertakes to prove, that *regular, standing Armies*, (as I have before distinguish'd them from Troops, *occasionally* raised for the publick Safety) are directly opposite to the Nature of *free Governments*, and destructive of them. He likewise shews, that *such Establishments* were not known to our Constitution from the Reign of *Richard the second* (and I don't see why he might not have taken his Period much higher) to That of *Charles the first*, when the unhappy Disputes between Him and his Parliament made it necessary to continue an *armed Force* for many Years in these Kingdoms. He confesses, indeed, that King *Henry the seventh* raised a few Archers, call'd *Yeomen of the Guard*, for his personal Attendants; but it might have been observed, from one of our Historians, that even that small Body gave umbrage to the People, who thought their *Affections* a better Security to the Prince, than such an *armed and venal Retinue*. This must be acknowledged to be the first Introduction of any *standing, military Force* amongst us; which was augmented, as I have observed in a late Paper, to a large *Body Guard* just after the *Restoration*; since which time this Evil continued to encroach upon us till the general Apprehensions of the People from the military Administration of King *James* produced the *Revolution*;

volution; when it was made an Article in the *Bill of Rights*, that *the keeping up a standing Army in Times of Peace is contrary to Law*; and yet, as our Author observes, the first *Parliamentary Establishment* of any large *standing Army* was in this Reign; which I hope no Man of the least Candour will think I mention with any Design to detract from the Justice, Expediency and Necessity of the *Revolution*; or the immortal Glory of our great *Deliverer*; since a great and good *Action* ought not to be charged with all the *bad Consequences and Events*, which may happen to follow upon it. But I thought it necessary, when I was upon this Subject, to give the Reader an impartial Account of the *Rise and Progress of standing Armies* in these Kingdoms.

His present Majesty was pleased, just after his Accession to the Throne, to promise his Parliament, that *He would reduce his Forces, as soon as it could be done without Prejudice to the common Cause, and consistent with the Interest of his Kingdom*. Whether This is not a proper Time to do it; and whether it may not be done with the utmost Security; I shall, with great Submission, leave others to determine; but there are some *Reasons* for doing it, offer'd in this Pamphlet, which I do not think inconsiderable, and therefore will beg Leave to transcribe them.

“ Our present Establishment in England, for Guards
 “ and Garrisons only, is *twenty two thousand, nine*
 “ *hundred and fifty five Men*, including six inde-
 “ pendent Companies in North Britain. The Charge
 “ of maintaining this Army by the Publick a-
 “ mounts to *seven hundred eighty six thousand, nine*
 “ *hundred and odd Pounds*, and This, too, exclusive
 “ of the Troops on the *Irish Establishment*; our
 “ Garrisons and Plantations abroad; and beside what
 “ we pay for Mercenaries to the *Landgrave of*

“ *Hesse-cassel*, and Subsidies to the *Duke of Wolfem-*
“ *buttle*, &c.

“ Thus it is plain that we have a greater standing
“ Force kept up at this Hour in *Great Britain*, than ever
“ was known to any of our Ancestors in times of
“ *Peace*. I think I may call it *Peace*; however ex-
“ pensive it may be, with Relation to our present
“ Circumstances.

“ There are several Reasons, which, as they occur
“ to me, make the reducing the Army at this time
“ to be necessary and beneficial to the Publick; and if
“ they shall have the same Weight with others as with
“ me, I hope This will be thought worthy a *Parlia-*
“ *mentary Inquiry*.

“ First, We ought to think, whenever we can do
“ it with Safety, of lessening the great Expence of the
“ Nation; this very Article, as we see, amounting to
“ near 800,000 Pounds a Year, a very large annual
“ Charge, at a time when we are so immensely in
“ Debt. We ought at least to shew, by the most exact
“ Oeconomy in our publick Affairs, that we are wil-
“ ling, as fast as we are able, to think of reducing our
“ superfluous Expences; and if some Part of the Army
“ were reduced, it would begin the good Work of
“ Saving to the Publick. When I talk of Reduction,
“ I would be understood to mean the Reduction of
“ *Corps's* intire; for what I have heard lately men-
“ tioned, of keeping the *Corps's* intire, and only less-
“ ening the Numbers of *Men*, cannot be called a Re-
“ duction; at least such a Reduction as will be neces-
“ sary. It will neither answer what is expected
“ from it in the Expence, or otherwise. It may make
“ some People wrongly imagine, that the present
“ Number of *Corps's* are to become a Part of our
“ Constitution, and that we must never hope to see
“ them lessen'd. As to the Saving, 'tis impossible to
“ contrive it so as to make it of great Use to the Pub-
“ lick; for I have always understood, in a general
“ Compu-

“ Computation of the Charge of a Regiment, that
“ the *Officers* are at least two Thirds of the Expence;
“ so that if you reduce the *Men*, and not the *Officers*,
“ the Charge is very little reduced, and will amount
“ to little more than what has been practised by a
“ vicious Commissary in false Musters.

“ This likewise seems to me the proper Time for
“ doing This, as the Affairs of *Europe*, which have
“ been troubled and very much embroiled for some
“ time past, seem now, at least to the Apprehension
“ of Those, who are not in the Secret, to be clearing
“ up; and as our Ministers, who have been always
“ heartily supplied with every Power they have asked
“ from Parliament, and have had *some Aids* unknown
“ till within a few Years to our Constitution; but
“ which the Parliament intrusted them with, from
“ the *Assurances* given them of the great Success they
“ must have abroad; though some were apprehen-
“ sive the Precedent might be attended with no small
“ Danger at home; thus assisted, I say, we have no
“ Reason to doubt that, by the great Wisdom and
“ Address of his Majesty's Ministers, both at home
“ and at *Soissons*, a lasting and a solid Peace will be
“ established in *Europe*.

“ The Affections of the People, the great Bulwark
“ and Honour of every Prince's Throne, are intirely
“ with our most gracious Sovereign. His chief and
“ first Happiness is placed, where it ought to be,
“ and where his best Security is, in the Hearts and
“ Affections of his Subjects. There he reigns; and I
“ hope will always reign an absolute Monarch, de-
“ fended by Guards never to be conquer'd or cor-
“ rupted. How glorious, how great does a King
“ appear thus secured; when a whole People bless
“ him, who are bound by their Affections to what
“ their Interest and their Duty would oblige them;
“ and obey and support him willingly in War and
“ Peace? When I see him thus surrounded, and hear

“ the Acclamations of his Subjects ; the broad Swords,
“ the embroider’d Belts, and the Feathers that trot
“ after him, look in my Eyes only like useleſs and
“ glittering Trifles ; and, had not Custom authoriz’d
“ the Sight, they would leſſen the Joy I received,
“ by cauſing me to imagine that the Sovereign diſ-
“ truſted the Loyalty of his People, and therefore
“ did not think proper to go abroad without theſe
“ *venal Attendants*.

“ Another great Inconvenience from ſuch a Num-
“ ber of Troops, and which his *Majeſty* muſt ſee
“ with Concern, is the Burthen they are to his Peo-
“ ple in many Places, where they are quartered. Thoſe,
“ who keep publick Houſes, and are obliged by Law
“ to give them Lodging and Proviſion for Horſe and
“ Man, at a ſmall ſettled Rate, have choſen, many
“ of them, to take down their Signs ; to give over
“ their Buſineſs ; and look out for ſome new Means
“ of ſuſtaining themſelves and their Families ; being
“ unable to ſupport the exceſſive Burthen they lie un-
“ der on this Account ; eſpecially in the Towns and
“ Villages adjacent to *London*, where Forage and Pro-
“ viſions are always dear.

“ The Loſs of ſo many Hands to the Publick is no
“ mean Conſideration. As theſe Men in Arms neither
“ ſow nor plough, but are fed by the Sweat and La-
“ bour of the honeſt Hind, they look to the People
“ like ſo many uſeleſs Hands ; a ſort of *military Monks*.
“ Nor can I conceive any Reaſon why theſe People
“ ſhould be denied the Uſe of their Limbs, or not ſuf-
“ fer’d to employ them in gaining their Livelihood,
“ as well as the reſt of his *Majeſty*’s Subjects ; for it is
“ certain that Idleneſs muſt render them enervate, and
“ conſequently if ever they are to be of Uſe, leſs ca-
“ pable of their own Buſineſs. The Reaſon, why they
“ have not been permitted in ſome arbitrary King-
“ doms to labour in the Country Works, has been out
“ of a political Regard, and to prevent all Familiarity

“ and

“ and Affection between the Peasant and the Soldier;
“ which might some time or other prove dangerous
“ to the Monarch ; but here that Reason cannot sub-
“ sist. I believe it would be much more agreeable
“ to most People to see a lusty Fellow employed in
“ the Tillage of our Land, and whistling to his Team
“ in the Furrow, than loitering upon an Alehouse
“ Bench in a Country Village, with a broad Sword
“ in his Hand; or poaching after the Poultry, or the
“ Wives and Daughters of the honest and laborious
“ Farmers. Nor do I conceive our Hero’s Honour or
“ his Courage could receive any considerable Damage,
“ altho’ he should be suffer’d to make a Pair of Shoes,
“ or a Doublet. Would he not cock his Hat as much
“ like a Soldier, or turn out his Toes as gracefully,
“ and waste the King’s Powder as manfully, when he
“ was called to that Part of his Vocation, tho’ he
“ should at other times fully his Fingers with a Saw
“ or a Chissel; or descend to handle a Scythe, or a
“ Reap-hook? He then might be a Thing of Use
“ as well as Show; ornamental and beneficial too.”

The *Author* then makes some general Observations on the Danger of a large *standing Force*, both to the Prince and the People. *First*, as it naturally excites a *Jealousy* in the People that they are not confided in; and that *military Power* may, in Time, become a Part of our *Constitution*. *Secondly*, from general *Mutinies* of such an armed Body; or their *refusing to be reduced*; which have been often the Cases in most Countries. The *Prætorian Bands* of the *Roman Emperors* often dethron’d and butcher’d their Masters; and it hath been common, even in these latter Ages, for the *Court-Fanizaries* to change the Lords of the *Ottoman Empire*. *Cromwell’s Army* hath been already mentioned; which expelled the *Parliament*, under whom they fought, and by whom they were raised and paid; and produced no less than *five or six different Revolutions* in this Kingdom.

He

He concludes this Part of his Discourse with observing *that all Governments, wholly supported by Mercenaries, are Tyrannies*; and then proceeds to shew that our only natural Strength and Security consists in our NAVY; in which he hath interspersed some seasonable Observations on the *present State of Affairs*, well worth the Perusal and Attention of every Briton.

D.



N^o 107. SATURDAY, July 20, 1728.

Invitus ea tanquam vulnera attingo ; sed, nisi tacta tractataque, sanari non possunt. LIV.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

THE Congress being now open'd at *Soissons*, in order to put the last Hand to the Accommodation of the Differences, which have so long subsisted between the Princes and States of this Part of the World, to the great Interruption of the *foreign Trade* and *domestick Ease* of their Subjects; it certainly behoves every Man in *Europe*, and more especially every *Englishman*, to use his utmost Endeavours to render the *Peace*, which is there to be negotiated, as *effectual* and *lasting* as possible; so that we may not, in a Year or two, be alarmed with *new Difficulties* and *Disputes*, or involved in *new Expences*; for unless Matters can be entirely settled to the Satisfaction of all Parties, it would be better to have no *Peace* at all; but to rely at first on

the

the Care of Providence, and on those *warlike Preparations*, which we have been making, for some Years past, at so *great an Expence*.

Now, the only Way of accomplishing this great and good End seems to be fairly and openly to discuss, decide and adjust the respective Interests and Pretensions of the Powers concerned, without having recourse to *Patchwork*, leaving Room for *Evasion*, or relying on *little, momentary Expedients*.

It is observable, that our neighbouring Nations, both Friends and Foes, are concerting all possible Measures to secure their Interests in this great Assembly; and it is whisper'd, that some *Demands* will be made of an extraordinary Nature. It cannot therefore be an improper Subject for a *British Writer*, at this Juncture, to examine, with Modesty and Submission to his Superiors, what may be reasonably demanded on our Side, both with Respect to our Neighbours and our selves.

We have been so often assured, by an *honourable Gentleman*, that the Point of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* is already settled in our Behalf, and made a Condition *sine quâ non* of the Treaty; that I am resolved, for the future, not to entertain the least Doubt about it; notwithstanding the repeated Suggestions of some late *News-Writers*, who would have us believe that the *Spaniards* still insist on having that Affair brought on the Carpet.

There is another Point, which hath been started since the Ratification of the *Preliminaries*, and begins to make a Noise; though I cannot conceive it to be a Matter of that Importance to *Us*, which some People, both at home and abroad, are endeavouring to make it. I mean the *Establishment* or *Revival*, call it which you please, of the *Danish East-India Company*. If his *Danish Majesty*, indeed, should attempt to injure us in our *Trade*, it would be very unhandsome, I will not say *ungrateful Usage* towards a *People*, who have done so many *generous Things* for Him; but I cannot

cannot give the least Credit to what hath been reported on this Head; nor will I believe that we shall ever think it worth our while to be at the Expence of a *Squadron* to suppress that Trade; much less to engage *other* Princes in a Quarrel about it; especially if it be not, as they alledge, contrary to any *Treaties* or *Stipulations* between us.

The *Establishment* or *Enlargement* of this Company may possibly be of some Disadvantage to our good Friends the *Dutch*, who supply some of the *northern* Countries with *Indian* Commodities; but it is of less Consequence to *Us*, than even the Trade from *Ostend* could have been; and therefore we need not be under any Apprehensions about it; at least, when we recollect that a *certain excellent Person*, and a most *consummate Statesman*, was pleased to assert, I think in the Case of the *Callicoe Bill*, that we had better give a *Million of Money*, than have any *East-India Trade* at all. How ridiculous therefore would it be to entertain the least Doubt that we shall ever involve ourselves in a *War*, (*an expensive, cheerless, unprofitable northern War*) only to support a *Trade*, which was once thought so *prejudicial* to us?— This Affair, therefore, I likewise take to be quite out of the Question, with Regard to *Us*.

But there are *two Points*, which, I think, ought to be (and therefore, I doubt not, will be) strenuously insisted on by our *Plenipotentiaries*, at the *Congress*. The *first* is full Reparation to our *Merchants*, for all the *Ships* and *Cargoes*, which have been taken from them during the late *Misunderstandings*. This is so reasonable and necessary for the *Encouragement* and even the *Support* of our *Commerce*, that I am confident it will not be neglected; since I find, that the *Lords Commissioners of Trade* have sate for many Days together, in order to receive the *Complaints* of our *Merchants* and the *Particulars* of their *Losses*.

I shall say nothing of the Losses of the *S. S. Company*; because we are told that they intend to send an ** able, experienced Minister* to negotiate their Affairs in particular at the *Congress*.

The *other Point*, which I mean, is an Affair of the utmost Importance to *Great Britain* in every Respect; viz. the Reparation of the Harbour of DUNKIRK; to which we hope his most Christian Majesty, our faithful Ally, will never give the least Countenance; since his great Predecessor thought fit to consent, in the most solemn Manner, to its *Demolition*, and to stipulate that it *never should be an Harbour again*; but as we, some time ago, saw an Article in our News Papers that the Inhabitants of that Town had petitioned their Sovereign for this Purpose (to which it was said his Majesty only returned for Answer, that it was not yet a proper Time to think of that Affair) and as we have since had repeated Intelligence, by Persons coming from thence, that the *Harbour* is already actually open'd so much, as to receive Ships of considerable Burthen; and that the Inhabitants take all Opportunities to clear it, (under the Pretence that it is done by *Miracles, Providence* and the *Tides*) I hope it will not be thought improper to take Notice of it, and recommend it to the Care of my Superiors as a Matter, which ought to be examin'd into; and, if it shou'd prove true, I doubt not that they will remonstrate against it in the strongest Manner, and procure some farther Assurance that we shall not be imposed on in a Point of so tender and essential a Nature.

I have so strong a Sense of the Honour and good Faith of all our *Allies*, that I am sure his most Christian Majesty will scorn to take any ungenerous Advantage of the present Situation of Affairs, by endeavouring to make us connive at an *Infraction* of this Nature, in order to obtain his Assistance in *other Mat-*

* *Mr. Rigby, the Factor.*

ters; though it is notorious that the *Reparation* of this Place could not be more prejudicial to *Us*, than it would be advantageous to *Him*; the Value of it to the *French* arising chiefly from the Interruption, which it can, at any Time, give to *our Trade*; for which Reason, we ought to keep a constant, watchful Eye upon all their Motions, however linked in *Alliances* with us; and endeavour to put a Stop to the most distant Attempts of this Kind; since it will be too late to complain, when the Work is far advanced.

How far the *French* may have such a Design at Heart, may be judged from the *Delays*, which they framed, and the *Difficulties*, which they made in executing the Article of *Demolition*, after they had sign'd the *Treaty*; though it was the principal Condition, on which they procured *Peace* from an Enemy, whom they found to be *invincible*.

We all remember the Stir that was made about *this Place*, at the latter End of *Queen Anne's* Reign; and the Zeal, with which *Sir Richard Steele* represented its Importance, as well as the evasive Conduct of the *French* in demolishing it; for which he received the Applause and Encouragement of every *Whig* in *Great Britain*——It may not perhaps be improper to give the Reader an Idea of its Importance from the Writings of *that Gentleman*.

The *Sieur Tugghe*, Deputy of the Magistrates of *Dunkirk*, having caused a printed Paper, in *French* and *English*, to be handed about Town, intitled, *A most humble Address to her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, &c.* in which he had the Confidence to desire of her Majesty that the *Moles* and *Dykes* of *Dunkirk* might be spared; *Sir Richard*, in a Letter published in the *Guardian*, set forth,

“ That the *British* Nation received more Damage in
 “ their *Trade*, from the Port of *Dunkirk*, than from
 “ almost all the Ports of *France*, either in the *Ocean* or
 “ the *Mediterranean*.

“ That

“ That Fleets, of above *thirty* Sail, have come together out of *Dunkirk*, during the late War, and taken *Ships of War* as well as *Merchant-Men*.

“ That the *Pretender* failed from thence to *Scotland*; and that it is the only Port the *French* have, till you come to *Brest*, for the whole length of *St. George's Channel*, where any considerable *naval Armament* can be made.

“ That destroying the *Fortifications* of *Dunkirk* is an inconsiderable Advantage to *England*, in Comparison to the Advantages of destroying the *Mole*, *Dykes*, and *Harbour*; it being the *naval Force* from thence, which only can hurt the *British Nation*.

“ That the Situation of *Dunkirk* is such, that it may always keep *Runners*, to observe all Ships sailing on the *Thames* and *Medway*.

“ That whether it may be advantageous to the Trade of *HOLLAND* or not, that *Dunkirk* should be demolished, it is necessary for the *Safety*, *Honour* and *Liberty* of *England* that it should be so.

“ That the *British Nation* EXPECTS the Demolition of *Dunkirk*.

I presume it will not be denied that the *same Reasons*, which were thus urged for its *Demolition*, will hold against its *Reparation*; and that a *British Subject* hath as much Right, now, to plead against the *latter*, as *Sir Richard Steele* had, at that Time, to insist on the *former*.

I know some *little Scribblers* (who endeavour to commend themselves by cavilling at every Thing, which you write) will endeavour to represent this Precaution in a *seditious Light*; but I address myself to Persons of an *higher Rank* and a *better Genius*; assuring them, that I do not mention this Affair wantonly or unadvisedly, but after *repeated Intelligence*, and the *best Inquiries* that I could make. I wish with all my Heart, that our late *Accounts*, with Regard to this Place, may prove false; but if any At-

tempts, of this Nature, have been actually made, it is always prudent to guard against *Beginnings*; and I think no Time can be more proper to make an *Enquiry* into it, than the *present*.

I will conclude with observing that even the *Restitution* of *Gibraltar* would be of much less fatal Consequence to *Great Britain* than the *Reparation* of *Dunkirk*.

A.

I am, S I R, &c.

Ex Pede HERCULEM.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

I Am just returned from a Journey into N——k, where I have at length satisfied my Curiosity in viewing a *certain great Palace*, which hath occasioned so much Discourse in Town, and by far exceeded the most sanguine of my Expectations. A particular Description of the Magnificence of the *House, Gardens and Stables*; as well as the great Variety of *fine Pictures*, the vast Quantity of *massy Plate*, and other *costly Furniture* would require a Volume in Folio; which I hope some Person, who hath more Opportunity and Leisure than myself, will undertake. But I was so much delighted with the Sight of an huge and most sumptuous LANTHORN, which immediately struck my Eyes, upon entring the *great Hall*, that I could not forbear celebrating it in a few Stanzas; which (as trifling as they may seem) will serve to fill up a little Vacancy in your Paper; and may, perhaps, do well enough by way of Contraste to the Remarks on a little *dark Lanthorn*, which we were lately desired to take notice of in our *Common-Prayer Books*.

I am, &c.

The

The NORFOLK LANTHORN,

A NEW BALLAD,

To the Tune of, *Which nobody can deny.*

I.

In the County of Norfolk, that Paradise Land,
Whose Riches and Power doth all *Europe* command,
There stands a great House (and long may it stand!)
Which nobody can, &c.

II.

And in this great House there is a great Hall;
So spacious it is, and so sumptuous withal,
It excels Master WOLSEY's *Hampton-Court* and *Whitehall*.
Which nobody can, &c.

III.

To adorn this great Room, both by Day and by Night,
And convince all the World that the Deeds of *Sir Knight*
Stand in need of no *Darkness*, there hangs a great *Light*.
Which nobody can, &c.

IV.

A *Lanthorn* it is, for its Splendor renown'd,
'Tis eleven Feet high, and full twenty Feet round,
And cost, as they say, many a fair hundred Pound,
Which nobody can, &c.

V.

The King, Sir, (God blefs Him!) who lives in the Verge,
Could hardly afford the exorbitant Charge
Of a *Palace* so fine, or a *Lanthorn* so large.
Which nobody can, &c.

VI.

Now let us all pray (though it's not much in Fashion)
That this *Lanthorn* may spread such an Illumination,
As may glare in the Eyes of the whole *British* Nation.
N. *Which nobody should deny.*





N^o 108. SATURDAY, July 27, 1728.

Res ad TRIARIOS rediit.



Nothing can be more ridiculously diverting, than the Method of Reasoning, to which my Adversaries are at length reduced. They call themselves *Whigs* and *Patrons of Liberty*, at the same Time that they argue like the most slavish Assertors of *arbitrary Power*; as I have endeavoured to shew (and, I think, very plainly) in a late Paper, containing the *political Creed* of these *modern Patriots*. But they are so far from being ashamed of seeing themselves in this Light, that they continue to act, and talk, and write in the same absurd, incongruous Manner. They seem to proceed on no *fixt Principles*, but to shift and model them, as Occasion requires; and sturdily to oppose every Doctrine or Position, which is judged to have an *uncourtly Aspect*, however innocent, or just, or seasonable, or self-evident.

I cannot help thinking This to be pretty much the Case, with Relation to what I have lately advanced on the Subject of *STANDING ARMIES*; in which I have on my Side the Concurrence and Authority of every professed Whig of Sense, and of every true Friend to *Liberty*, under whatsoever Denomination he may have passed, from the first Foundation of Government to this Day. Yet it seems that the *wisest Men*, as well as the *greatest Patriots*, of all Ages and all Nations, have been mistaken in their Opinions upon this Subject; and it is, at length, discovered that

standing

standing Armies, under the sole Command and Direction of the Prince, are the surest Bulwarks of a free Nation, and the most proper Guardians of popular Liberty.

It cannot escape Notice, that particular Pains have been taken the last Week, to make my *foreign News*, of Saturday the 13th Instant, inconsistent with the preceding Part of that Paper; and how is This proved? Why, I thought fit to express some Approbation of a Pamphlet, lately published, containing *Reasons for reducing the Army*; and *this Part* of the Paper always goes to the Press betimes on Monday Morning; and consequently must be written some Time before; after which, I abstracted, according to Custom, the *foreign Intelligence* of that Week, as I found it in other Papers, which did not give a very agreeable Account of the Affairs at *Soissons*; and *this Part* never goes to the Press till some Time on Thursday. If therefore there is any *Inconsistency* between the *initial Essay*, and the *foreign News*, it is such as is unavoidable in these Circumstances; unless I were to suppress any *material Occurrences*, in order to *humour an Argument*; which would justly be thought much more blameable. But as the Foundation of *that Pamphlet*, as well as of my Recommendation of it, is built on the Prospect of a *speedy Peace*, which hath been so long promised us, all other *Reasons for reducing the Army* naturally sink, if the design'd *Pacification* should unhappily not take place. Besides, as the *present Number of Forces* is already *voted* and *provided* for, this Year, it cannot be supposed that the *Author of the Pamphlet*, (who must, it seems, be my Friend and Acquaintance; though, for aught I know, He may be a *Minister of State*) designed any more, than that they ought to be *reduced*, as soon as the *Treaty* shall be concluded; which we hope will be *before the next Session of Parliament*. But I have so often declar'd, that I do not pretend to be *infallible*; and that no

Man can avoid *Errors* in the Relation of *publick News*, (especially when *Affairs* are very industriously kept *secret*) being often obliged to mention *current Reports* only, that I do not think it necessary to say any more on this Head. I am only very sorry to find, by the Method of Reasoning against me, that those Accounts seem to be so *true*, as to be made an Argument *against disbanding any of our Troops*.

As to *standing Armies*, I asserted only, in general Terms, that all *military Governments*, properly so called, are *absolute Governments*; and took particular Care to explain what I meant by a *military Government*; from whence however it is candidly inferr'd, that I designed to insinuate that ours is, *at present*, a *military*, and consequently an *arbitrary Government*. I did, indeed, observe that the Continuance of *standing Armies* hath been always found dangerous to *free States*; and I will not, even now, endeavour to dissemble my Apprehensions, that they may, in *Time*, have the same Effect upon the Constitution of *this Kingdom*, which they have formerly had upon *others*.

I likewise proposed it, in a modest Manner, to be consider'd, whether our *present Forces* might not be, in some Measure, *reduced at this Time*, *without Prejudice to the common Cause*, and *consistently with the Interest of the Kingdom*; from whence it is, with equal Candour, concluded that my real Design was to make Way for a *foreign Invasion*, or a *domestick Insurrection*.

In the same Manner, when I took the Liberty to represent the great Expence and Burthen of such a *Number of Forces*, it is called *envying brave Men their Bread*; which is an Objection, that will hold equally strong against any *Reduction* of our Troops, in Times of the *utmost Tranquility* and *Security*; besides, that it contains this monstrous Proposition, that the *Hardships of a few particular Gentlemen*, to which the best and wisest Designs will be always subject,

ought

ought to be put in Competition with the *general Ease, Satisfaction, and Security of a whole Nation.*

Great Pains have been likewise taken to prove, that our *Army* being annually voted and provided for by *Parliament*, there can be no Danger of *general Mutinies*, or their *refusing to be disbanded*. I hope, indeed, there is very little; but as *such Things* have happen'd, I hope there can be no Harm in using all possible Precaution to prevent them for the future; and though it is alledged that the Case of *Cromwell's Army* is not an Instance to the Purpose, because there was no *regular Government* at that Time; yet I desire it may be considered by whom the Government was subverted, under the Pretence of *defending Liberty*, and *supporting our Constitution*. But supposing there is no possible Danger of this Kind at present; I presume it will not be denied that a *large, standing Army* may be very *grievous and burthensome* to the People, even though their *fundamental Liberties* are ever so secure.

But I am ashamed to reason with *such Men*; and (to use an Expression of their *great Patron* on a late Occasion) *I really pity their Case, and cannot help having a charitable Concern for them*, when I see them torturing their poor Brains for a little wretched Shift, or a senseless Distinction, in order to justify *Points*, directly opposite to the very first Principles of *that Party*, which they pretend to espouse.

I will therefore refer them, at present, for Instruction, to Mr. GORDON's excellent *Discourses on Tacitus*, prefixed to his *Translation* of that Author; which contain a full Answer to all their little Cavils; conjuring them, at the same Time, with all the Sincerity of a hearty Friend and Well-wisher, to forbear any *invidious Applications*; not only because his Authority as a *Writer*, and undoubted Affection to the *present Government*, will certainly outweigh all their ridiculous and impotent Reflections; but likewise be-
cause

cause *this Work* was said to be particularly encouraged and patronized by a *Gentleman*, whom it is by no means their *Interest* to disoblige; and was introduced into the World with the *handsomest Dedication*, tho' the least *fulsome*, which I have seen addressed to Him, since his *Administration*.

D I C O U R S E X.

Of ARMIES and CONQUESTS.

Sect. 1. *The Burthen and Danger of maintaining great Armies.*

“ **T**OO many Princes are infatuated with false
 “ Notions of Glory, and thence delight in War.
 “ Without doubt it is true Glory to excel in War,
 “ where War is necessary; but in the whole Course
 “ of History, where one has been so, twenty have
 “ been otherwise; and to engage in it from the Wan-
 “ tonnesfs of *Ambition*, or for the Sake of *Laurel*, or
 “ through *Peevishness* and *Humour*, is to risque the
 “ Blood, and Treasure, and People, and Being of a
 “ State, for the Foppery of *false Heroism*; or to sa-
 “ crifice the same to the selfish and inglorious View
 “ of making a Country (either That, which *conquers*,
 “ or That, which *is conquered*, or *both*) the Prey of
 “ the *Hero*; for such has been generally the *Logick* of
 “ *the Sword*, that because it has *saved*, it may there-
 “ fore *oppress* and *enthral*, and for defending a *Part*,
 “ take the *Whole*. *Wars* beget great *Armies*. *Ar-*
 “ *mies* beget great *Taxes*. *Heavy Taxes* waste and
 “ impoverish the Country, even where Armies com-
 “ mit no Violence; a Case seldom to be supposed,
 “ because it has seldom happen'd. But where great
 “ Armies are, they must be employed, and do Mis-
 “ chief abroad, to keep them from doing it at home;
 “ so that the *People* must be *exhausted* and *oppressed*
 “ to keep the Men of the Sword in Exercise.

“ The

“ The *great Turk*, to keep the *Swords* of the
“ *Fanizaries* from his own *Throat*, is forced to
“ plague his *Neighbours*, even where he earns no-
“ thing but *Blows* and *Disgrace*; and thence increases
“ the *Danger*, which he would avert; for as by his
“ *Armies* he makes all *Men Slaves*, he himself is a
“ *Slave* to his *Armies*, and often their *Victim*; or, to
“ escape himself, is frequently forced to satiate their
“ *Fury*, by the *Blood* of his *bravest Officers*, and *best*
“ *Counsellors*. If it be the *Glory* of his *Monarchy*,
“ that He can put the *greatest Men*, and *all Men* to
“ *Death*, without *Reason*, or *Form*, or *Process*; he
“ is subject, in his *own Person*, to the same *lawless*
“ and *expeditious Butchery*, from his own *outrageous*
“ *Slaves*; who being not accusom'd to receive any
“ *Law* from him, give him *none*, whenever he is in
“ their *Power*, which is as often as they think fit;
“ And he, who is a *Prince of Slaves*, is adjudged by
“ *Slaves*, and dies like the *meanest Slave*. What is
“ there to save him? His *People*, who are *oppress'd*,
“ want the *Inclination*; and being *unarmed*, the
“ *Power*. So that he lives in *personal Servitude* to
“ Those, who are the *Instruments of publick Servi-*
“ *tude*; and as others must die to *please him*, so must
“ he to *please them*. It is the *Law of Retaliation*,
“ and operates as often as its *Causes* operate; namely,
“ *Caprice*, or *Rage*, or *Fear*. This is the *Blessing* of
“ being *absolute*, and unfetter'd by *human Constitu-*
“ *tions*. The *same Sword*, which is lifted up for you,
“ at the *Command* of *Whim* or *Passion*, is with the
“ like *Wantonness* lifted up *against you*. If you reign
“ in *Blood*, you must not think it strange to die in it.”

SECT. 2. *Great Armies the best disciplined, whether
thence the less formidable to a Country. Their
Temper and Views.*

“ In regard to *publick Liberty*, *Armies the best dis-*
“ *ciplined* are not less to be dreaded than the *worst*;
“ but

“ but I think more; since their *Relaxation of Disci-*
 “ *pline* takes away from their *Union* and *Sufficiency*.
 “ It renders them *weaker* and *less equal* to mighty
 “ *Mischief*; but where they are *strict* and *united*, the
 “ highest *Iniquities* are not too big for them. *Dis-*
 “ *orderly Troops* may rob *Particulars*, ravage *Towns*,
 “ and harrafs a *Country*; but if you would subdue
 “ *Nations*, commit universal *Spoil*, and enslave *Em-*
 “ *pires*, your *Forces* must be under the *best Regula-*
 “ *tions*. It was with an *Army victorious* and *brave*,
 “ and consequently *well disciplin’d*, that AGATHOCLES
 “ slaughter’d all the *Nobles* of *Syracuse*, and brought
 “ that illustrious *State* (the most noble of all the
 “ *Greek Cities*) under *Bondage*. CROMWELL’s *Con-*
 “ *quest* of his *Country* was made by *Troops*, the
 “ *most sober* and *best disciplin’d* that this, or perhaps,
 “ any other *Nation*, had ever seen; and it was, with
 “ the *best* of all the *Roman Armies*, that CÆSAR esta-
 “ blished himself *Tyrant* of *Rome*.

“ *SOLDIERS* know little else but *Booty* and *blind O-*
 “ *bedience*. Whatever their *Interest* or *Rapacity* dictates,
 “ they generally will do; and whatever their *Officers*
 “ command, they must do. It is their *Profession* to
 “ dispute by *Force* and the *Sword*. They too soon
 “ learn their *own Power*; and where ’tis an over-bal-
 “ lance for the *civil Power*, it will *always controul* the
 “ *civil Power* and all things. *Sua in manu sitam rem*
 “ *Romanam suis victoriis augeri Rempublicam*. The
 “ *Strength* of the *Nation*, say they, *is in our Hands*,
 “ and was *increased* by our *Exploits*. They find readily
 “ somewhat to say. The *strongest* is ever the *best Dis-*
 “ *putant*, when he carries his *Reasons* upon the *Point*
 “ of his *Sword*.” *Preces erant, sed quibus contradici non*
 “ *posset*. They may enter their *Claim* by way of *Petition*;
 “ but it is such a *Petition* as cannot be refused. They have
 “ done great *Services*. They have suffered great *Wrongs*;
 “ and will therefore *reward* and *redress* themselves.
 “ This is the *Reasoning* of CÆSAR. “ *Hac voluerunt;*
 “ *tantis*

“ *tantis rebus gestis, C. Cæsar condemnatus essem, nisi*
“ *ab exercitu auxilium petissem. After all my great*
“ *Exploits, says He, I should have been condemned, had*
“ *I not sought Protection from the Army. It is nothing*
“ *to the Purpose to say, that an Army, listed among*
“ *the Natives, especially the Officers being Natives,*
“ *and many of them Men of Fortune, will never hurt*
“ *or oppress their Country; for such were CROM-*
“ *WELL's Army; such were CÆSAR's, and many other*
“ *enslaving Armies. Besides Armies are soon modell'd,*
“ *and Officers, who are obnoxious, are soon changed.*

“ No Government can subsist but by Force; and
“ *wherever that Force lies, there it is that Government*
“ *is or soon will be. Free States therefore have preserved*
“ *themselves and their Liberties, by arming all their*
“ *People, because all the People are interested in pre-*
“ *serving those Liberties; by drawing out Numbers*
“ *of them, thus armed, to serve their Country occa-*
“ *sionally, and by dissolving them, when that Occasion*
“ *was over, into the Mass of the People again; by*
“ *often changing the chief Officers; or, if they conti-*
“ *nued the same, by letting their Commissions be tem-*
“ *porary, and always subject to the Controul of the*
“ *supreme Power; often to That of other co-ordinate*
“ *Powers; as the Dutch Generals are to the Deputies.*
“ It is indeed but rare that States, who have not
“ taken such Precaution, have not lost their Liberties.
“ Their Generals have set up for *Themselves*, and
“ turned the Arms put into their Hands against their
“ Masters. This did MARIUS, SYLLA, CÆSAR, DIO-
“ NYSIUS, AGATHOCLES, CHARLES MARTEL, OLIVER
“ CROMWELL, and many others; and This they all did
“ by the same Means. It is still frequently done in the
“ Eastern Monarchies; and by the same Means all the
“ christian Princes of Europe, who are arbitrary, be-
“ came so. For as the Experience of all Ages shews
“ us, that all Men's Views are to attain *Dominion* and
“ *Riches*, it is ridiculous to hope that they will not

“ use the *Means* in their Power to attain them, and
 “ Madneſs to *truſt them with thoſe Means*. They will
 “ never want Pretences, either from their *own Safety*
 “ or the *publick Good* to juſtify the *Meaſures*, which
 “ have ſucceeded; and they know very well, that the
 “ *Success* will always *juſtify itſelf*; that great Numbers
 “ will be found to ſanctify their *Power*; moſt of the
 “ reſt will ſubmit to it, and in Time will think it *juſt*
 “ and *neceſſary*; perhaps, at laſt, believe it to be ob-
 “ tain'd *miraculoſly*, and to have been the *immediate*
 “ *Act of Heaven*. D.



N^o 109. SATURDAY, August 3, 1728.

*Raro Antecedentem ſceleſtum
 Deſeruit pede Pœna claudo.*

HOR.

TO CALEB D'ANVERS Eſq;

S I R,



N one of your late Papers, you exhibited to your Readers the Portrait of a *Treasurer*, managing and engroſſing his *Prince* at his Pleaſure; corrupting and debauching a *British Parliament* with *Bribes* and *Penſions*, paid in ſo open and avow'd a Manner, that I remember ſomewhere to have met with a Saying of the then *Minifter of the Treafury*, who was well known to have had the Charge of that unpopular and diſagreeable Office; *that he was almoſt plagued out of his Life at the End of each Session; the Members at*
thoſe

those Seasons, flocking about him for their Pay, like so many Jackdaws for Cheese. A Practice, so infamous and destructive of the Constitution, was exposed in a very lively Manner at the Close of that Paper, in the Words of an *eminent Patriot and Senator* of those Times.

As I presume you intended that Essay for a Lesson of Instruction to your Countrymen, whether *Members* or *Electors*, to shun such a dangerous Commerce with the *Treasury* in future Times; I fancy that good End cannot be more effectually obtained than by applying yourself to remove the *Temptation*; and to discourage all *Ministers*, who shall hereafter have the Power of the *Purse*, from a Dependance upon such *venal Friendships*; for surely a serious Contemplation on the Lord DANBY's Fate will afford no Incitement to his *Successors* to pursue the *same Measures*. As you touch'd but Part of his Character, and shew'd him in the glaring Light of almost *absolute Power*, I will beg Leave to trace him to the last Scenes of his *declining Greatness*; observing, by the Way, the scandalous Method of his obtaining it; which every Body knows to have been by screening the Advisers and Undertakers of that *vile and infamous Scheme for shutting up the Exchequer*; a Project of such extensive Mischief, as was, perhaps, never equall'd, at least excell'd, till the like flagitious Contrivance of the *South-Sea Scheme* in our Days; so that He plunged at once into the Mire, and rendered Himself so universally odious to the People by this Step, that it would have been exceedingly difficult for Him to recover any great Degree of Reputation or Popularity, had He pursued the *wisest and honestest Measures*; but when He continued to add Iniquity to Iniquity, and resolved to maintain the Possession of Power by the *same abandon'd Methods*, by which He had obtained it, it was impossible that *Justice* and the Cries of an *injur'd Nation* should not at length prevail. This may serve to convey a *Moral*

of excellent Use; for if any *great Man*, amongst our Posterity, of a like Complexion with this *Treasurer*, shall learn by his Example to lull his Prince asleep by a bold and sanguine Undertaking to carry on his Service both at *home* and *abroad*, both *within Doors* and *without*, to his Ease and Satisfaction; and shall likewise copy his Method of doing it by lavishing away the *publick Treasure* to corrupt the *Representatives of the English People*; the same Example may be a Warning to him of the Instability of *Power*, founded upon a Bottom so unsound, and maintain'd by Artifices so mean, dishonest and corrupt.

This GREAT MAN was a very bold and fluent Speaker; though far from being possess'd, as his Creatures flatter'd Him, with the noble Arts of *true Eloquence*; and, as you have observ'd, had a peculiar Talent in making his Friends *depend* upon Him; though no Man was ever more *treacherous* in that Respect. Yet with these *false Accomplishments* he easily gained great Credit and Influence in the *House of Commons*; upon which Account solely He was called to that high Station in the *Ministry*; and indeed to the full Power of it, upon the Exigencies of a *Court* that was sunk in Credit, by having put in Practice a *Scheme* of so calamitous a Nature. *National Grievances* naturally produced a *national Indignation*. CLIFFORD, the then *Treasurer* and *Prime Minister*, had the Discernment to see the Storm arising, and the Address to evade it, by delivering up his *Staff* and *Power* to this great Leader of the *House of Commons*; in full Assurance, no doubt, of his *Protection* from the Violence of the *approaching Tempest*. Our new *Treasurer* well understood where his great *Strength* lay; and resolved to make the Favour of the *Commons* (the single Point, by which He rais'd himself to that Height) the sole Means of fixing Him there. He quickly concluded that *Money* must be the Cement of their Affections; and That he bestow'd with a liberal Hand upon every
Member,

Member, who was willing to wear his *Livery*, and receive his *Wages of Iniquity*. This *Expedient* did, for a Time, succeed to his Wish.

He was, before his Accession to Power, and for some Time afterwards, a professed Enemy to the FRENCH Interest; and was so far transported with his Aversion to *that Court*, that Bishop Burnet says, *He could not forbear drinking Confusion to all, who were Friends of FRANCE*, at a publick Entertainment, in Presence of many of the greatest Men in the Kingdom; and in a Letter to the Lord Sunderland, He hath these Words. *I always had so bad an Opinion of that Court, that I will not believe any Good can come from it. I doubt not but your Lordship must be of the same Opinion, by the Tricks and Evasions you meet with from them every Day.* He openly encouraged Pamphlets written against the Practices and Designs of *that Prince*; particularly one of a very extraordinary Nature, entitled *Christianissimus Christianandus*; in which the Author endeavoured to prove that the *most Christian King* was Himself void of all the common Principles of *Christianity*. Yet, as if some sudden Fit had seized Him, this *Enmity* at once vanish'd; the warmest *Affection* appear'd; and by his Counsels he engag'd his Master in the *closest* and *most dangerous Alliance* with that Crown. A Turn so quick and unaccountable astonished his *Friends* and *Followers*, as well as his *Enemies*. They knew not whether they must ascribe it to Caprice and Wantonness; or whether any concealed Designs and Intrigues might make Him believe such a *League* conducive to his *own Interest* and the Continuance of his *Authority*. It awaken'd their Attention; made them narrowly inspect his Conduct; and they soon found just Cause to censure it. In short, they voted and carried up to the Lords *Articles of Impeachment* against Him, in the last Session of *that very Parliament*, commonly called the *long Parliament*, which had, for some Years, implicitly

obeyed his Nod; and it is observable that *One* of the Articles was his bestowing *those Pensions*, which very *many*, if not *most of the Members* had taken. I have transcrib'd some of the *Articles*, which perhaps you'll think worthy to be publish'd.

ARTICLES, &c.

“ That He hath traitorously encroached to Himself
 “ *Regal Power*; by treating, in Matters of *Peace* and
 “ *War*, with *foreign Princes* and *Ambassadors*; and
 “ giving *Instructions* to His Majesty's *Ambassadors*
 “ abroad, without communicating the same to the
 “ *Secretaries of State*, and the *REST of his Majesty's*
 “ *Council*, &c.

“ That He hath traitorously endeavour'd to subvert
 “ the *ancient* and *well establish'd Form of Government*;
 “ and instead thereof, to introduce an *arbitrary* and
 “ *tyrannical Way of Government*; and the better to
 “ effect this his Purpose, he did design the raising
 “ an *Army*, under Pretence of a War with the *French*
 “ King, and then to continue the same as a *STAND-*
 “ *ING ARMY* within this Kingdom.

“ That He hath wasted the *King's Treasure*, by
 “ issuing out of his Majesty's Exchequer, and several
 “ Branches of his Revenue, divers *great Sums of*
 “ *Money for unnecessary Pensions* and *secret Services*, &c.

“ That He hath, by indirect Means, procured from
 “ his Majesty, for *Himself*, divers *considerable Gifts*
 “ and *Grants*, &c.”

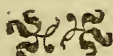
It may be not amiss to add, that this *great Man's* Character was set forth in all the Lustre, which *Flattery* could bestow upon it. He was stiled a *CICERO* and an *ATTICUS*. He was extoll'd as the *most able*, as well as the *most uncorrupt Minister*. He had been so much used to these pleasing and delusive Pictures, that He began to think they had a real Resemblance of Himself. In the Confidence of which,
 it

it was His usual Boast *that the Treasury was never so wisely and advantageously administred——that the publick Monies were never so faithfully applied——He defied his worst Enemy to charge Him with the least Embezzlement of the King's Treasure——He pitied the Impotence of his Adversaries, and scornfully laughed at every Objection to his Conduct——* Nay, He continued *this Language*, after the *Impeachment* was carried up against Him; and assured the *Lords* that He should make his *Innocence appear*, whenever He was called to his Defence——But He soon discovered that there remain'd no Subterfuge for *Guilt* from that Vigour, with which the *Commons* were resolved to prosecute the *Impeachment*; and therefore He chose to *withdraw Himself*; and submit to a *Bill of Banishment*, brought into the *House of Lords* by his own *Friends*, and from thence sent to the *Commons*; rather than rely upon his *boasted Integrity*. When the *Commons*, (who, it seems, thought it their Duty to pursue such a Minister to Destruction) had rejected this *Bill* and passed a *Bill of Attainder*, He did indeed *surrender Himself*——But for what?——why, to plead the *King's Pardon*, which he had clandestinely obtained, and not to maintain his own *Innocence*. That *Pardon* did indeed avail Him; but was so well remember'd, after the *Revolution*, that effectual Care was taken not to leave *that Part of the Prerogative as a Sanctuary to any future Minister of Corruption*.

C. D.

I am, S I R, &c.

OLD WHIG.





N^o 110. SATURDAY, *August 10, 1728.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,

L Cannot forbear having the greatest Contempt for the Pride and Vanity of Mankind, in assuming to themselves certain Epithets (such as *rational, intelligent, social, politick, &c.*) by way of Distinction from all other Animals of the Creation; at the same Time that their *Actions* degrade them beneath the wildest Brutes, and their *Understandings* are inferior to Those of the meanest Reptiles or Insects; for as it is certain that, in social Life, we are more savage, and cruel, and destructive of one another; so, in many Instances of Sagacity, we are infinitely exceeded by them; and notwithstanding all our boasted Learning and Knowledge, there is scarce a Species of any Creature, from which we may not receive some useful Instruction.

It is well known that the Antients, on all great Occasions, constantly consulted the *Entrails of Beasts*, or were directed in their Undertakings by the *Flight of Birds*. But This is not immediately to my present Purpose; for what I would now advance is, that we should, all of us, be much *better Men*, if we had each of us some *Animal* or other for our *Instructor*.

Your Predecessor *Isaac Bickerstaff*, of famous Memory, composed many excellent Treatises, for the Benefit of Mankind, on a *Mole-hill* inhabited by *Pismires*; from the Example of these small Insects, endeavouring to teach the World *Policy and Oeconomy*,
with

with many other social Virtues; and I question not that if a *Committee* of proper Persons were employ'd to make due and constant Observations on the Nature of their *Government*, and the *just, provident* and *uncorrupt* Execution of it, a *Report* might be made, containing many useful Hints even for the *Parliament* itself; and perhaps some sage Instructions might be likewise framed for our Plenipotentiaries at *Soissons*, and sent to them in addition to Those, which They have already drawn from the Management of that *wise, industrious, and trading People*.

But how contemptible must Mankind appear, when we consider that not only Matter of *Instruction* is to be drawn from the Nature and Properties of *Animals*; but that even many *Accomplishments* also are to be learned from them? I know, at this Time, a certain Set of *Drummers*, belonging to a Regiment in *Great Britain*, who are all learning, from an *Hare*, the true Flourish in beating a Drum; and the *Colonel*, to give Him his Due, obliges them to stick to it with great Application; in order to appear with more Distinction at the next *Review*. I have seen, in my younger Days, when I was in *France*, an *Elephant* dance so well, that he would have made a tolerable good *Dancing-Master* amongst us; and I dare say we have had, at some Time or other, even *Ambassadors* at that Court, who could not make three *Bows* with half so good a Grace as this *Elephant*. I have heard of a *young Lady*, who not being able to speak a Word, when she was four Years old, her Parents began to be afraid that Miss would be *dumb*; and the Way they taught Her to speak was by hanging a *Parrot*, that talk'd almost every Thing, by her Bed-side; by which means the young Lady learn'd, in a few Months, to articulate very plainly; and she is now so great a Proficient, that, at her present Age of *sixteen*, she talks full as much, and almost as well as the *Parrot* itself.

I am likewise inclined to believe that we are apt to participate of the Nature of *those Animals*, on which we chiefly feed; and This, perhaps, may be the true Reason of the Rise and Growth of a *new Sect* amongst us, called *Herb-eaters*; the *carnal Nutri-ment* conveying, as They may imagine, the Property of the *Animal* itself. If This be true, I would not, methinks, have an *Irishman* feed on *Bull-Beef*; nor our *Magistrates* too often on *Calf's Head*. I should be desirous also, that our Physicians would recommend to our *Nobility* and *Gentry* the drinking of *Lyonesse's Milk*, which are now bred amongst us; since it is probable, that many of them have suffer'd considerably by too frequent an use of *Asses Milk*; and therefore I should hope, by such an Alteration of their *Regimen*, to see the *Courage* and *Vigour* of our Ancestors begin to revive amongst us.

The foregoing Observations have been all made to introduce some Reflections on the CAMELEON; an Animal of very singular Properties; and which, I am told, was lately to be seen in a *certain Court* of Europe. This Creature is rarely brought into our Parts of the World; but I am satisfied that if He be rightly considered, and carefully studied, He might be of great Use to our most *accomplish'd Statesmen*. I hope therefore that, whenever He dies, his Skin will be stuffed; and that an handsome Salary will be settled on a *learned Naturalist* to read Lectures upon it, for the Improvement and Advantage of all such as live in or about *Courts*. In the mean Time, it shall be my Business to shew in what Instances it is necessary to be like the *Cameleon*, in order to rise and thrive there.

I shall begin with the Make of *this Animal*, which hath no *Ears*, and neither produces any *Sound*, nor is capable of receiving any. Besides, his *Mouth* is almost always so closely shut, that He scarce seems to have any. From hence we may learn, that *Secrecy* and

Silence are two very necessary Qualifications in a *Court*.

As to his *Inside*, it is very doubtful whether He hath any *Heart* or not; but if He hath one, it is certainly very *small*; and every Body, I think, agrees that He hath no *Bowels*; both which may serve to intimate to us, that it is not absolutely necessary for *Courtiers* to have any considerable Degree of *Courage* or *Compassion*.

However close He keeps his *Mouth*, yet his *Tongue* is the Instrument, by which He gets his Liveliness; for, on proper Occasions, He can dart it out a prodigious Length; and He never does it, but when He intends some Mischief; for by a certain glutinous Matter, which adheres to it, every Fly that comes in his Way is surely drawn in to its Destruction; which destroys the vulgar Opinion that *this Creature* lives upon *Air* only; though it seems to hold forth this useful Moral, that notwithstanding all the Professions and outward Appearances of *Temperance*, *Abstinence* and *Frugality*, which *Courtiers* may make, from a pretended Concern for the *Publick Good*, They have generally some *secret* Methods of gorging Themselves; and perhaps the *glutinous Matter*, on the *Cameleon's Tongue*, might not be improperly applied to a *Treasurer's Fingers*.

He can *change Colour*, as *Plutarch* and *Tertullian* both assure us, whenever He thinks fit; which He often does, and always chuses to be of the Colour of the *principal Objects* that surround Him; with this Exception only, that He can take any Colour but *white*; which I hold to be quite unnecessary in a *Courtier*; and it appears, from some late Observations, that He is particularly fond of *Blue*. From hence we may learn the Wisdom and Advantage of being of no *Party*, or rather of any *Party*; shifting and changing Principles as often as it is convenient; and being always ready to adopt Those, which are in vogue.

Some

Some modern Authors tell us, that when the *Cameleon* is afraid of any other Animal, He gets into a *Tree*, and from thence drops his venomous Spittle on his Enemy, till He hath killed Him; but *Ælian* and *Aldovrandus* say, that when this Animal sees a *Serpent*, of which He is always afraid, the Way of defending Himself is by taking a little Piece of *Straw* in his Mouth. Of what Service This can be to Him, I cannot say; but whether it may not represent that a *Minister* ought to make use of some proper and prudent Means to secure Himself against the Rage and Violence of *Faction*, I shall leave to the Learned to determine; and I should think, that taking a little *White Staff* in his Hand might have the same Effect on his Enemies, which this little Piece of *Straw* hath against the *Serpent*.

Madam Scuderi tells us, amongst many other extraordinary Particulars, (in a Relation that she published of *two Cameleons*, which she had from *Africa*) that the *Eyes* of this Creature are extremely remarkable; for that He always keeps *one* fixed immoveably upwards, whilst the *other* is looking stedfastly on the *Ground*. This shews how necessary it is for a *Courtier* to be vigilant and circumspect; or, as the vulgar Expression is, to have his *Eyes* always about Him; and farther, that at the same Time that his *Ambition* makes him, with *one Eye*, constantly look upwards; it is proper, with the *other*, to look a little downwards, and see on what *Foundation* He stands.

His *Tail* is pretty long, and of great Use to Him; for He climbs as well with *This*, as with his *Feet*; and often frees Himself, and hangs by the Branches of *Trees*. This likewise conveys a proper Moral; and may be of Service in the Instruction of a young *Courtier*. But there seems to be no Occasion, at present, to enlarge on this Head.

The *Antients* had many superstitious Notions about almost every Part of *this Animal*; one of which was, that

that if they pulled out his *Tongue*, when alive, and carried it about them, they could never fail of Success in any *Law-suit*; and that it helped Ladies, being fixed to their *Waist*, to *safe and easy Labours*; with several other such-like idle Fancies; too tedious, at present, to relate. But I design another Paper on *this Subject*, and shall then say something concerning the *Lizard* also; an Animal pretty near a-kin to This; and which I find is becoming so great a Favourite amongst the fair Sex, that several *Monkeys* and *Parrots* are in great Danger of being displaced. I am assured that there is, at present, a *Lizard*, the Envy of several of our most *gallant Gentlemen*; for whenever He is weary of playing with the most beautiful Woman in the Universe, his Retreat for Rest is in a charming Valley, between two pretty little rising Hills, in the finest Bosom in Christendom.

C.

I am Sir, &c.N^o 111. SATURDAY, *August 17.* 1728.—*Fixit Leges Pretio, atque refixit.*

VIRGIL. —

TO CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

SIR,

MONTGOMERY.



late Transaction in the *House of Commons*, concerning the Right of Election for *this Borough*, has caused no small Contention here among the Burgesses; and some of them have even taken the Liberty to complain of the *just and most righteous Determination* of that
Affair.

Affair. I have done as much as lies in my Power to discountenance and extinguish such unreasonable Apprehensions ; but finding their Resentments rather encrease than abate by *Argument*, I should be glad to have the whole Affair put in a true Light ; which would effectually expose all their groundless Cavils, and justify the Proceedings of that august Assembly.

For my Part, as I live entirely in the Country, at so great a Distance from *London*, and did not attend the Examination of our Case in the House, I will not pretend to give any Account of it ; but leave it to others more particularly concerned. In the mean Time, I will beg leave to trouble you with some general Observations on so important a Subject.

The *Privileges* and *Authority* of that House, (which is no less than the legislative Power of *all the Commons of England*) is so considerable to every Member of the Community, that the least Infringement of them is a common Concern to all.

There have been Times indeed, of less Virtue and Integrity than the present, when the *Freedom* or *Independence* of the Members, which is the essential Constitution of that House, has been fatally attempted ; but we have this peculiar Happiness, that we can never expect to see it injured or impaired by any Power or Artifice of *evil Ministers* ; unless we ourselves should either concur in or connive at them. The *evil Minister* may be the *Tempter*, but the Contagion must become epidemical, and the *Corruption* universal, before his Wiles can effectually operate.

There is mention made, by my Lord Coke, of a Person, who, for 4*l.* given to the *Mayor*, procured himself to be *returned* a Member of that House, contrary to the Suffrages of the *Burgesses* ; but the Patriots of those Times so much resented that dangerous Practice, that the House thought fit to send the *Mayor* close Prisoner to the *Tower*, and expelled the *Member* with great Indignation ; a glorious Example to *future*

Par-

Parliaments; and which we have seen pursued in so many modern Instances, no doubt with the same Justice, as well as the same Zeal and Regard for the Constitution of *Parliaments*!

A *County* or *Borough* thus represented, without their own Consent in a *free Election*, cannot be properly said to be *represented at all*, and is thereby excluded its Right in the legislative Oeconomy; so that in respect to other Parts of the Nation, it may be said to be in a State of *Slavery*; inasmuch as it has no Share in the Government, but is absolutely under the Dominion of *others*. For what is *Slavery* but to be violently or fraudulently divested of that Share of Power, to which a Man is legally entitled; or, which is the same Thing, to be *subject to the absolute Power of another*?

Could we suppose that, at the Time mentioned by my Lord *Coke*, there had been a *Majority* of such Persons return'd to Parliament, by the general Corruption of the *Returning Officers*, there can be no doubt that whoever had apply'd for Redress to it would have met with the greatest Discouragement; and *such Members*, by countenancing one another, would have established their Seats there; and then, where would have been the *Commons of England*? — It is plain they could not have been presumed to be duly represented by such an *usurped Authority*.

A *Corruption*, of this Nature, would not have ended there; I mean in merely establishing themselves; for if they had any Views of their own to carry on, they would have had it likewise in their Power (being now, by their *Majority*, become sole Judges of *Elections*) to remove any Person, who They might imagine would oppose their destructive Scheme, and introduce others, who they knew would co-operate with them. Indeed, many wholesome Laws have been since made to support the *Freedom of Elections*; and a constant Adherence to them gives us no Prospect of such a Violation of our Constitution.

And yet such a *general Corruption*, as I have above supposed, is not merely so fantastical as one would at first imagine, by looking into the present Frame and Composition of that House, and observing the universal Abhorrence of any *indirect Means* to obtain a Seat there; as well as the inevitable Expulsion of Those, who make such an Attempt. For you was pleased, in one of your Papers, to mention a *great Man* in that House, who formerly boasted that he was just come from voting *the minor Number to be the Majority*; than which one would imagine there could not be a greater Instance of *Corruption*, as it tends to efface the first Rudiments of common Honesty and common Sense. Such an Abuse on the Understandings of Mankind could not easily be believed, did not History too well attest the Possibility; and indeed, what else can be expected from such a *venal, sordid Majority*? For such they must be, who willingly are led blindfold to pursue the irregular Temper and Passions of *some great Minister*? But our own happy Times are not only free from such Abuses, but they have been discountenanced and exploded in so vigorous a Manner, that we hope they will never revive.

Sir William Temple, in his *Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government*, observes that

“ The Safety and Firmness of any Frame of Government may be best judged by the Rules of *Architecture*; which teaches us that the *Pyramid*, of all Figures, is the firmest, and least subject to be shaken or overthrown, by any Concussions or Accidents from the Earth or Air; and it grows still the firmer by how much *broader the Bottom, and sharper the Top*.

“ On the contrary (*says he*) a Government, which by alienating the *Affections*, losing the *Opinions*, and crossing the *Interests* of the People, leaves out of its Compass the greatest part of their *Consent*, may justly be said, in the same Degree it thus loses Ground,

“ to

“ to *narrow its Bottom*; and if This be done to serve
“ the Ambition, humour the Passion, satisfy the Ap-
“ petites, or advance the Power and Interest not only of
“ *one Man*, but of *two or more*, or *many*, that come
“ to share in the Government, by these Means the *Top*
“ may justly be said to grow *broad*, as the *Bottom*
“ *narrower by the other*. Now by the same Degrees,
“ that either of these happen, the Stability of the Fi-
“ gure is by the same lessen’d and impaired; so as at
“ certain Degrees, it begins to grow subject to Acci-
“ dents of Wind and Weather; and at certain others, it
“ is sure to fall of itself, or by the least Shake that hap-
“ pens to the Ground.”

So that the larger the *Base*, the more easily the Equi-
librium will be preserv’d; but the *Basis* of our Govern-
ment (by our Representatives in Parliament, sent from
all Parts, at the free Election of the People) is as great
as the Kingdom itself; and therefore if, by the Cor-
ruption and Contrivances of *evil Ministers*, Persons
are deterred and influenced from a *free Choice*; and
Members should sit in that Assembly rather at the Ap-
pointment, or Election of *such a Minister*, than by
the *People themselves*; so much of the *Basis* must be
supposed to be taken away, or impaired, as the Mem-
bers, who sit for such *Counties or Boroughs*, are not
freely elected by them, but being placed there by *such*
a Minister, all that Part of the *Basis* is, as it were,
removed and incorporated into himself; which would
render him *big and unwieldy* and consequently the
Building unsteady; by which Means the Frame would
become an *inverted Pyramid*, with the *Point* on the
Ground, and the *Basis* uppermost. How dangerous
such a preposterous Alteration would be to the whole
Building is easily perceived; but This is only the Re-
sult of Sir *William Temple’s* Observations, and is im-
possible, as our *Laws and Inclinations* now stand, to
happen in this Nation. For how can we *Englishmen*
suppose, that Men qualified by their Fortunes as well

as Abilities, should be ever influenc'd, by *Bribery*, *Gain*, or *Pensions*, to throw down the Inclosures of their Constitution, and draw upon themselves an universal Odium, by acting in Opposition to the Persons, whom they pretend to represent; and, what is more mean and inglorious, divest themselves of their Reason, Understanding, and all Regard to Posterity; and condescend to be led, by a *great wicked Minister*, thro' all the intricate Mazes and dirty Passages, which private Interests, insatiable Lusts, and unruly Ambition shall suggest to him, to the Destruction of their Country in the End.

A *Parliament*, thus packed, would be far more dangerous than *no Parliament* at all; for it would be much better to rely on the Justice, Wisdom and Lenity of the *Prince*, whose Interests are interwoven with our own, than on *One*, whose private Views, inconsistent with the Good of his Country, naturally lead to its Destruction. Much better would it be that *such a Minister* should stand alone under the Eye and Controul of his *Prince*, as well as of others *in Power*, who might restrain his exorbitant Designs, than to be thus propt by the seeming Consent and Suffrage of the *People*; which might at last divert, if not close the Eyes of the *Prince*, from viewing his Conduct, and put him out of the Power of others to contend with him. It is supporting, abetting, strengthening and confirming his *Iniquities*, and putting a great Part of the Load upon *our own Shoulders*—God forbid that This should ever be the Fate of *England*!

We now see a *Parliament* composed of Persons, elected by our *free Choice*, without the least Corruption, Bribery or Influence. All Contentions about Elections are now fairly adjusted, and *Those only* removed, who, by unfair and wicked Means, have had the Assurance to obtrude themselves.

From such a *Parliament* what Fruit may we not expect; when every Individual has, by his just Representative,

tative, a proper Share in the Legislature; and when all Laws imposed are by and from ourselves; at least with our own Consent and Approbation? What Peace, what Quiet, what Unanimity must ensue? What Submission, what Deference ought we not to shew to all the Debates and Results of it?

As we can fear no Danger but from *ourselves* in this Part of our Constitution; for in no other Part of it can we admit of the least Apprehension; so we have much less to dread from the Practices or Designs of any *evil* or *corrupt Minister*, since all Persons, at this Time in Power, vie with one another in their Duty to their Prince, and Regard for the Prosperity of the Commonwealth.

Sir, I have been, perhaps, too tedious in this Epistle; but I was willing to set these Mischiefs in the strongest View; that my *Townsmen* may not suspect me of the least Design to countenance any *indirect Means*, which can possibly be used to the procuring a *British Parliament*; and, at the same Time, to let them see that nothing of this Nature can be now dreaded; leaving the Particulars of their *Case* to be represented to them by *You* or some *other Gentleman*, who resides in a Place proper to enquire into the *Facts*, and able to pacify their Discontents.

O.

I am, your humble Servant, &c.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

SIR,

Friday, *August 8, 1728.*

THOU I should not advise your carrying on a Controversy with other weekly Papers; yet I fancy it would not be amiss to take some Notice of the *British* and *London Journals* of *Saturday* last. I couple them together, because they are well known

to be published for the *same End*, and under the *same Direction*; and that however *dignify'd* or *distinguished* the Writer of either of them may occasionally be, the Design of them both is to usher into the World what *Somebody* desires to have believed, either by Way of Apology or of Panegyrick for himself and his Actions; and, as the Author of the *Inquiry* expressed it, *to hold forth some Light at a proper Time, and in a proper Manner, about publick Affairs*. With what Truth, Modesty, and Consistency, this Design is carried on, is sufficiently known to the few, who happen at any Time to look into those Papers. The *British Journal*, of Saturday last, says, that *while our Affairs are thus doubtful; whilst we are in danger of sudden Attempts from angry Princes or seditious Malecontents; it cannot be natural or safe to be without our Army*. This is a Plea for keeping up an Army as long as this certain *Somebody* shall be pleased to say there is a Necessity for it; for these modern Patrons of Liberty will by no means allow the People to judge for themselves, but an *Ipse dixit* is to determine in all Matters, and *passive Obedience* to a Minister is their first necessary Principle. But it so happens, that this same *Ipse dixit* tells us at the same Time, in the *London Journal*, that we neither are nor can possibly be in any danger from any Quarter whatsoever; and consequently not under the least Necessity of an Army; *that Great Britain is superlatively happy in her natural Situation, and tho' all the Princes of Europe should become her Enemies, it is not in their power to do her any considerable Mischief; that the mighty Armies of the Emperor are ineffectual as to us, surrounded by Seas, and divided from the Continent; that the maritime Powers of Holland and France, even tho' they should both unite, cannot possibly overmatch us; nor can Spain be of any Consequence to us; while thus from a Rock, which, before we possess'd it, was thought of so little Value, we defy the Force, and foil the Armies of their wide extended Monarchy*. If all This be true, whence

whence can be our Danger? Especially when *Holland* and *France*, instead of uniting against us, are so truly, so firmly engaged in all our Interests? And if there can be no Danger, where is the necessity for an *Army*? If an *Army* can be of no Use to us, who are surrounded by Seas, and divided from the Continent; well then, what are we to believe? Where are we to rest our Credit and Confidence; since the same Person, who in the *British Journal* assures us our Dangers are many, great and imminent, informs us in the *London Journal*, that they are and must be imaginary? It appears to me indeed that our Affairs are doubtful, when the same *Somebody* gives us, in the same Breath, such contradictory Accounts; but they will recur to their old and beaten Stratagem, that tho' we may be secure from *Enemies abroad*, our Danger is great from *seditionous Malecontents at home*. These *Malecontents* are sometimes, it seems, very *considerable*; and upon other Occasions they are *weak* and *impotent*. But we may remember that there have been *Malecontents* at other Times. We will go no farther back than the Year 1718 to look for them. The Behaviour of *some Persons* about that Time was too remarkable to be ever forgot. With what *Duty*, or even *Decency*, did they behave towards their Sovereign on publick Occasions, or even in private Conversations? We were then engaged in a declared War with *Spain*, and in the Quarrels of the *North*, and had only 14,000 Land-Forces; and yet the *Malecontents* of those Days not only thought this Number too great, but endeavoured to render it useless, and as hurtful as it might be to the Country, by leaving it without *Discipline*. Yet now these very *consistent Gentlemen* plead for double that Number, tho' the Government has the Advantage of their Zeal and Merit on its Side; and the *London Journal* tells us, *that tho' the whole Continent combine against us, our Rights are secure, and our Genius unsurmountable; and should all Parties support the Pretensions*

sions of Spain to Gibraltar, they would find it impossible to wrest it out of our Hands; and should they decree the India Trade to the Emperor, it would be impracticable to carry it on; nay, should they never make a Treaty, nor yield any formal Concessions to us, they would be obliged by Interest to seek our Friendship, and be sufficient Sufferers if they thus provok'd our Enmity. Why then did the Author of the Enquiry, who is certainly no Stranger to the London Journal, complain so immoderately of dangerous Engagements; of Designs, which threatned Destruction to all our most valuable Rights and Possessions; nay to our very Being as a Nation? — Why have we been at so much Expence in negotiating and supporting Alliances, if we are thus sufficient of our selves, and if Those, who provoke us, are in Danger of suffering so much by so doing? How have they dared to insult, and to menace, and to form Designs of invading us? The London Journal says indeed, that however passive, gentle, or tame we may have been, he takes it to be the Result of our Good-nature. We could, it seems, have punished our Enemies; but out of Good-nature we rather chose to suffer our selves. He farther recommends this passive Disposition in Favour of Ministers at home; that they should be suffered to carry on their Measures without Opposition, whatever Reason there may be to dislike them; and that no Fault should be found, till the Work is over, and the Mischief past Remedy. And to inforce this honest Precept, he argues, that Ministers, ill used at home, will be ever ill used abroad; that if the Powers combined against us are Enemies to the Administration, it is because these Gentlemen love and defend their Country; and by Consequence the more we distress them, the less we render them capable of defending us; that in every Injury of this Kind, our Enemies have certainly a valuable Advantage; and therefore Those, who hate the Ministers, must be Friends to Those, who hate the People. If this

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Argument is to be taken impartially, and for the Benefit of the Publick under *all Administrations*; then *Those*, who opposed the Ministry in the four last Years of the late *Queen's Reign*, and in the Years 1718, 19, and 20, of the late *King's*, were *factious Malecontents*, and were promoting the Interests of the Enemies of the People. For to distinguish in this Case, and to say that *those Ministers* only should not be opposed, who are doing right, is either leaving it to the People to judge what is right, or allowing the *Ministers* to judge for themselves, and declare by their *mercenary Scribblers* what shall be esteemed right or wrong. I would therefore consider the Argument without any particular Application; and then it must run thus; that *Ministers* may be able to *do right*; ergo, you must not oppose their *doing wrong*. If they rashly engage the Nation in Quarrels with *foreign Powers*, and then pursue those Quarrels as improperly as they begun them, you must not attempt to check their *destructive Measures*, and to promote such as may be *beneficial*, because This would give a great Advantage to your Enemies. If *Ministers* have created Enemies to their Country, and provoked them unreasonably; it is a certain Proof that they *love and defend their Country*, because they are hated by *Those*, whom they have thus attacked and provoked; that the proper Way for us to hold the *Ballance of Europe*, which has generally been agreed to be an Equality of Power in the Hands of the *Emperor and France*, is to make the *French* Mediators at a *Congress*, in which that *Ballance* is to be establish'd; and that if any *Minister* is *corrupt himself*, and introduces Corruption among *others*, you must not find fault, because endeavouring to stop a *Mischief*, is the Way to *prevent Good*; that the not believing implicitly every Thing a *Minister* says, and not approving blindly every Thing he does, is *Faction and Sedition*, and of the most fatal Consequence to a Nation. In short, this *Director of our Consciences* is of

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Opinion, that if we would act like honest Men, like virtuous Citizens and dutiful Subjects, we ought to approve of *Vice* and *Corruption*; because This would prevent any Incroachment on the Rights, Liberties and Properties of the People. Therefore, for our own Sake, we should support a *Minister* in his important Labours to increase and secure his own *Wealth* and *Power*, and make *this difficult Part of an Administration as easy as possible*, by transferring our Allegiance from the KING to the MINISTER.

R.

I am, Yours, &c.

N^o 112. SATURDAY, *August 24.* 1728.

Adspice quanta
Voce neget; *qua sit ficti* Constantia Vultus. JUV.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,



O U have very justly represented, in several of your Papers, the great Mischiefs, which a Nation may suffer from an *ambitious, rapacious and corrupt Minister*; but there is one Character of a *bad Minister*, and more pernicious, perhaps, than any other, which you have not yet animadverted upon; viz. That of a LYING MINISTER. I don't mean one, who is guilty of the low Art of Insincerity; of giving false Hopes and Promises; of dissembling and disguising Truth; which has been the more practised by *Courtiers*, as they have mistaken it for *State-Craft* and

and *Policy*; though it is certainly, and always, the Proof of a *little Genius*, a *weak Judgment*, and a *bad Heart*; but what I would have you consider, is the Practice of *downright Lying*; of saying and reporting *direct* and *notorious Falshoods*, concerning Persons and Things; of *forging Letters*, and *contriving Correspondencies*; as when a *great Man* forms, in his own Favour, *supposititious Letters*, expressing the Concern, which People abroad are under, that *such a Minister*, so *able*, so *vigilant*, and so *honest*, should be removed; that they hope those *Reports* are without Foundation; that the Welfare of *Europe* depends upon *that Crisis*. Then *Answers* are returned, as from several Persons of Consequence at home, assuring their Correspondents, that they may be easy; that it was true such Reports had been spread by *malevolent* and *evil disposed Persons*, but they were intirely groundless; that both the *Prince* and the *People* were perfectly satisfied how such an *Alteration* would affect us to our Disadvantage, as well as to the Disadvantage of our *Alies*; that this *Report* was quite blown over, and the *publick Credit* flourish'd again. These *Letters* are supposed to be intercepted at the *Post-Office*. They are carried to *Court*; and the *Prince* is assured from the *Minister* himself, in his own Words, of his *Consequence* and *Capacity*.

Another sort of *political Lying*, very much in Practice, is That, which tends to create *Jealousies* and *Quarrels*; to carry a *POINT* in publick Affairs; to serve a *Relation*, or to hurt an *honest Man*; to get over a *present Difficulty*, or to *ingross* the whole Power of an Administration, by imposing upon the Prince *false Representations of Things*, and *unjust Characters of Men*. If *Truth* is one of the best and surest Bands of human Society and Commerce, as it has always been esteemed; then *Lying* is one of the greatest Crimes that can be committed against Society; and the *Lyar* should be placed in the first Rank of Criminals, and

be look'd upon, like the *Pyrate*, as a common Enemy to Mankind; and the higher his Station happens to be in the Society, the more his Guilt increases; as does the Mischief, which necessarily attends it. A *Liar*, in a private Station, may sow Dissensions in Families, and amongst Friends; or occasion Loss of Reputation and Fortune to particular Persons; but if he is supported by *Power* and *Authority*, the Mischief becomes more extensive, and affects the whole Frame and Constitution of Government. By his *false Representation of Things*, he leads his Prince into wrong and destructive Measures; and by a *false Representation of Persons*, makes it very difficult for Him to retrieve them. And, to carry on his own Schemes, he never fails, nay makes it necessary, to back *one Lye* with *another*. The unhappy Prince is kept in a State of *Darkness* and *Confusion*; and if he happens to discover one Falshood, is immediately perplexed and clouded by a second. By trusting too long to *one Man*, he brings himself under the fatal Difficulty of not knowing whether he may safely trust *any Man else*. As some wise and great Princes have lamented that their high Stations deprived them of the most sensible Pleasure in Life, That of having a *true and sincere Friend*, or at least of being perfectly assured they had such a one; so the Condition of *such a Prince*, under the Tutelage of *such a Minister* as I have described, is much more unhappy, as he may have been taught to believe every Man an *Enemy*, except a few Creatures of his *lying Minister*.

An old Law in *Scotland* punished with Death what was called *Leasing-making*; that is, spreading false Reports of the *King*, or misrepresenting him to his *People*; and if the Interest of a *King* and his *People* are the same, as they always ought to be; and if it be necessary to the maintaining this joint Interest, that a mutual Good-will be preserved between both *King* and *People*; it seems just and reasonable to punish,
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with the same Severity, all Misrepresentations of the *Subject* to the *Sovereign*; This being, perhaps, of much more dangerous Consequence than the other. The *People* in general are not so easily misled by false Representations of their *Prince*. If an Impression is made on some Few, the greater Number will be able to judge better, and have Opportunities of knowing and discovering the *Truth*; whereas a *Prince*, who converses in a narrow Compass, and may, perhaps, be intirely shut up to all but the *lying Minister*, and a few of his *instructed Dependents*, may more easily take wrong Impressions; and when he has taken them, find it more difficult to be undeceived.

The Histories of *Japan* tell us, that those People take such an effectual Course in the Education of their Children, as to render *Lying* and *Breach of Faith* above all Things odious to them; insomuch, that it is a very rare Thing for any Person among them to be taken in a *Lye*, or found guilty of a *Breach of Faith*. Now, if it should not be thought proper to introduce among us the *Scotch Law* about *Leasing-making*, it would not be improper methinks to change the Penalty of it into *Transportation*, and send to *Japan* a most notorious Felon, convict of *Faith-breaking*.

A late *Emperor of Germany* being told that one of his *Ministers* had spoken disrespectfully of his Person, He readily answer'd, that it could not be true, because he had no Reason to speak disrespectfully of him. Happy is the *Prince*, who is so conscious of his own Worth, as not to be willing to believe that any one else can have a Doubt of it; or if he should be inclined to believe it, at least it is an Instance of his Wisdom not to discover that Inclination!

This vile Practice, of *imposing Falshoods on the Prince*, is not less detrimental to his Interest, than injurious to his Honour and Dignity. If it be deemed a high Provocation to *give a Man the Lye*, surely it should be esteemed as great a one to *impose a Lye upon him*.

A *Minister*, who would dare to treat his Prince with such Indignity, must have the utmost Disregard for him, and the meanest Opinion of his Understanding and Virtue; and he, who *lies to* his Prince, will not scruple to *lie of him*; nor to falsify the *royal Word* upon the most solemn Occasions. The same base Motive, which prompts him to carry *false Reports* to his Prince, to *injure others*, or to *justify himself*, will prompt him likewise to misrepresent his Prince, as often as he shall think it proper or necessary to excuse or recommend himself to the *People*; assuming arrogantly to himself the Merit of all *successful and popular Measures*, He will throw on his Master all *Miscarriages* and *Disappointments*, as well as every thing that is *disagreeable* and *obnoxious*. His *Fellow-Servants in the Administration* are not less exposed, however fair their *Characters* may be; however faithful and beneficial their *Services*. They are constantly in danger of suffering in the *one* and the *other*. They will not always have the Opportunity of knowing what is falsely represented of them; and when they know it, it is a very disagreeable, and not always a successful Task, to *prove and defend*.

To what Discredit and Hazards must a Prince therefore be exposed, by the Advices and Informations of *such a Counsellor*; and, what infinite Mischiefs may not a Nation suffer from *such a Guide and Director* in publick Affairs; especially if, with this ill Quality, he has those of *Ambition, Rapaciousness* and *Corruption*? It is, indeed, almost impossible that a Man, possess'd of so base and infamous a Habit as That of *Lying*, should have any one good Quality. *Lying* may be defined to be a *trencherous Breach of Faith in one Man towards another*. It shews a cowardly and an impotent Mind, and a Diffidence in the *Liar* to bring about his Designs by any good Means. It discovers a weak, low, mean, and unmanly Heart; and yet is always attended with a most uncommon

Degree of *Impudence*; upon which the *Liar* solely depends, in order to carry on his *destructive Schemes*; and if he happens, upon any Emergency, from a Consciousness and Apprehension of palpable *Evidence against him*, to take *some Shame to himself*, he recovers as soon as the Evidence and Danger are removed; and treats, with an impudent Contempt, what he before dreaded and was begging Pardon for; and would impose an insolent Parade and Triumph in his *Guilt*, as the Proof of his *Innocence*.

There is another sort of *political Lying* more dangerous and inexcusable, if possible, than what I have been mentioning; which hath been often practised in *Senates, Diets*, and other *popular Assemblies*, in order to raise *exorbitant and unnecessary Subsidies*, by *false Representations*, and giving them groundless Assurances of *Peace*, or some other *advantageous Terms* to the Community, which They represent. A *Minister*, who makes use of such Methods to extort Money from the People, deserves the severest Censures, as He makes the *Welfare of the Publick* the Pretence for *oppressing* it; and is therefore a much more detestable Cheat, than a *common Sweetner*, who tricks well-meaning credulous People, out of their Money, by sanguine Promises of immediate and extraordinary Gain.

Some Persons will object, perhaps, that This is an *imaginary Evil*; and that it is impossible for any Man, notoriously possess'd of such a *vile Quality*, to raise himself to any Degree of Power and Credit; or, at least, to support himself long in it. But I dare say, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that your long Experience in the World must have enabled you to discover, without the Help of a *Lanthorn*, some such Workers in Darkness and Iniquity.

R.

*I am, S I R,**Yours, &c.*



N^o 113. SATURDAY, *August 31*, 1728.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,



Bout a Year ago, you gave us an Account of the declining State of the *Royal Academy of Musick*, occasioned by the Disputes between *Cuzzoni* and *Faustina*, concerning the *first Part in the Opera*; and having the Cause of *Harmony* very much at Heart, you proposed some *Preliminaries* for a general Pacification, which were accepted on both Sides by the Parties concern'd, after some *Alterations*; and a *Congress* was accordingly open'd, the Beginning of this Summer, at the *Opera-House* in the *Hay-market*, pursuant to Notice given, for this Purpose, in the publick Papers.

But alas! it is too well known how this Assembly broke up; that they wrangled, for some Time, about *Forms*, and started Difficulties about *meer Trifles*, without so much as once mentioning the *material Points* in Debate. This did, of Consequence, very deeply affect every Man, who had any real Concern for the *musical Government of Great Britain*, which now seems to be in the utmost Danger, and hath raised a general Indignation against *Those*, who have reduced it to this Extremity. I need not mention *these Men*. They are sufficiently denoted by the daily Exclamations of the *Subscribers* against them; but it cannot be amiss, for the Instruction of *other States and Societies*,

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to recapitulate their Proceedings, for some Years past, on this Affair; from whence the monstrous Absurdity and Madness of their Conduct will appear, and I hope be a Warning to all true Lovers of *Musick* and *Harmony*.

I believe, I may defy the wisest Man in *Britain* to give a rational Account how these Commotions first arose; and perhaps it may not be prudent for me to make any Enquiries into the true Causes of them. All that we know, at present, is, that *Madam Faustina* was pleased, upon her coming over hither, to set up a Claim to the *first Part in the Opera*, against her Competitor *Seigniora Cuzzoni*, (who had long possess'd it) by Virtue of a *former, secret Promise*, as she pretended, of the said *Cuzzoni* to surrender it to Her; and it was said that this *excellent Singer*, by the Advice of her *chief Confidantes*, who drew her into this foolish Engagement, would have willingly enough fulfilled her Promise, rather than occasion so much Disturbance in the *Academy*; but great Numbers of the best Friends of the *Opera* expressed the utmost Abhorrence of such a Design; and would not, upon any Terms, be induced to consent that she should give up so material a Right; alledging that it was of the utmost Consequence to the *whole Community*, and seemed to affect the very *Constitution* of their Government itself.

Faustina, on the other Hand, finding that *Cuzzoni* and her *Agents* began to prevaricate, and refused to comply with the Conditions, on which she was brought over, thought it high Time to take Care of herself. She is acknowledged to be a Lady of as much Art, Spirit and Intrigue as any of her Countrywomen the *Italians*; and by the Negotiation of much abler *Sollicitors* than *Cuzzoni* employed, made such *powerful Alliances* amongst the chief Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, and engaged them so zealously in her Interest, that *Cuzzoni* began to think

herself in imminent Danger; and applyed herself, with the utmost Diligence, to the forming of *counter Alliances*, in order to defeat the formidable Designs of her Rival. But tho' *Cuzzoni* was herself very much esteemed by all true Lovers of *Musick*, on account of her sweet Voice and excellent Judgment, yet having intrusted the Management of her Affairs in the Hands of *unskilful Persons*, who seemed to know no other Methods of *Negotiation*, than *Threats*, *Blusters* and *Bribes*, they were not able, by all their Endeavours, to turn the *Ballance* on her Side. Some *considerable Persons*, indeed, did take her *Money*, and promised to stand by her *defensively*, in case *Faustina*, or any of her Confederates should attack Her; but *Cuzzoni's* Ministers, either from some *Infatuation*, which had possess'd them, or a Design to *betray* Her, committed *Hostilities first*. They employed Mobs to insult Her before her *own Door*; and, in the *Theatre*, condescended to make use of the barbarous Enginery of *Hisses* and *Cat-calls*. They maltreated her Servants, whom she sent to accommodate Matters, and reviled her *Person*. They charged her with odious Designs against *Cuzzoni's* Fortune and Life; and represented one of her intimate Friends as an *ungrateful Upstart*, a poor, distress'd Ballad-Singer, whom They had set up and *borne upon their Shoulders*; though it is well known that He was in Possession of the first Character in *Musick*, long before we took any Notice of Him. This extraordinary Usage naturally produced the sharpest Resentment on the other Side. *Faustina* exerted herself, and made ample Reprizals. She despised *foul Language* and *personal Reflections*; but attacked *Cuzzoni* in the tenderest Part, and returned *Actions* for *Words*. *Cuzzoni's* high Spirit was thoroughly enraged at This; but, on a sudden, she found her Hands tied up from Revenge. *Those*, whom she chiefly depended on, instead of giving her the expected Assistance, desired Time to consider *who was the Aggressor*;

gressor; notwithstanding which, she continued to *talk big, menace and defy*, and gave it out very confidently, every Day, by *herself* and her *Agents*, that Matters would be soon made up to her Advantage. In the mean Time, all Offices of Friendship and mutual Intercourse, however for the Interest of both, were laid aside. Even *visiting* ceased; nor would They send a civil *How-d'ye* to one another. Nay, these Animosities were not confin'd to the *Rival Ladies*; but spread themselves thro' most of the polite Families in Town; insomuch, that we were, on a sudden, surprized with *unaccountable Alliances*. The most *intimate Friends* broke off all Acquaintance with one another, and *run into the Arms of their inveterate Enemies*. In short, every Thing seemed to tend to an open *Rupture*, tho' it was thought that all Parties secretly desired *Peace*.

In this deplorable Situation of Affairs, you were pleased to propose a *Congress* for terminating all Differences, and restoring the *Academy* to its former Lustre; but you will give me leave to complain of one palpable false Step, which I apprehend to be the Consummation of all our former *Blunders* and *Mismanagements*. I mean setting up *Senesino* for a *Moderator* between the contending Parties; who had manifestly too large an Interest in these Disputes, to decide them impartially. This was generally foreseen and complain'd of at first; for though He pretended, and solemnly assur'd us, that He had nothing at Heart but a friendly Accommodation; it soon appeared, as we all suspected, that He not only design'd to make *Himself* more considerable by these Contentions, but had a *secret Understanding* with *Faustina*. As soon as the Conferences at the *Hay-Market* were discontinued (for, I think, the *Congress* was not finally dissolv'd) *Senesino*, the *Mediator*, immediately *left us*, and went over to *Faustina*. It is pretended indeed by *Those*, who love to palliate Matters, that *Cuzzoni* is now left absolutely in Possession of her *Right*; which remain'd
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somewhat doubtful during the *Struggle last Winter*; whereas *Faustina*, by deserting her Ground, seems to give up her Pretensions; or at least to be made so sensible of the Impracticability of her Designs, that she will hardly resume them. It is true, indeed, that *Cuzzoni* is left, at present, to *sing by Herself*; but I would willingly ask *these Gentlemen*, whether They think that *one Person*, with all the Advantages of Voice and Judgment, can possibly entertain the Town with an *Opera*, in all its usual delightful Variety; and whether the *Connoisseurs of Musick* would not be glad to have a *safe, honourable and lasting Accommodation* concluded with *Faustina*, though They might be very sorry to see her possessed of the *first Part*.

The *same Gentlemen* endeavour to alleviate our Sorrows, and remove our Discontents, under these melancholy and most unharmonious Circumstances, by assuring us, that *Senesino* will *come over to us* again, and that He is gone off at present only with a Design to reconcile *Faustina* to our Interest and Proposals. But This does not seem to satisfy many People; even though his Excellency Mr. *Heidegger*, (who is equally remarkable for the Gracefulness of his *Person*, and the Elegance of his *Address*) is sent over to negotiate that Affair.

They tell us farther, by way of Comfort, that in case a final Accommodation cannot be brought about, we need not doubt of a *Truce* for some Years, till a more favourable Opportunity offers itself. But neither does this Project seem to give People the Satisfaction, which They desire; because They cannot depend, with any Certainty, on the Continuance of such a *meer Cessation of Hostilities*; and They do not seem inclinable to come into *another Subscription*, to support the Expence of so many Performers, till They are convinced of a *perfect Agreement*.

But let these Affairs end how They will, the Management of them hath, without doubt, been exceedingly

ceedingly *ridiculous*, if not *worse*; and Mr. *Gay* had too much Reason, in his *Beggar's Opera*, to expose it to the Contempt of the whole Town.

A.

I am S I R, &c.



N^o 114. SATURDAY, September 7, 1728.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;* —

S I R,

WHEN I consider the State of the *British Commerce*, and view the several *Monopolies*, which are established amongst us, in various Shapes, I am under all the Anxiety, which naturally fills the Breast of every Man, who hath a true Regard for the Interest and Prosperity of his Country.

Our illustrious Ancestors were equally jealous of their *Trade* and of their *Liberties*. They justly esteemed them dependant on each other; and therefore were always upon the Watch, and ready to oppose any Innovations or Incroachments upon either of them. They considered that their *religious* and *civil Rights* could not be safe without *Strength*; that *Power* was to be procured and preserved by *Wealth*; and that no Nation can become rich, but by a well-managed and extensive *Commerce*. For the Soil of few Countries is rich enough to attain any great Share of Wealth, meerly by the Exportation and Exchange of its own Product; and whoever will enquire into the Affairs of this Kingdom, will find sufficient Matter to convince him, that the Wealth and Figure of *Great Britain*

tain is chiefly owing to its extensive *Trade* and *Plantations*; and that not one fourth Part of our Riches hath arisen from the Vent of our *native* Commodities and Manufactures.

It was therefore the Wisdom and Care of our Ancestors, to preserve and encourage *Trade* in all its Branches, by making it free to all the Subjects of *England*; and we find that when some of our Princes had granted *Charters* to select Bodies of Men to carry on an *exclusive Trade* to any particular Place or Country, *Acts of Parliament* were made for restraining *Monopolies*, and giving the Subjects of *England* an equal Freedom of Trade to all Countries; and declaring, that *Charters of Incorporation* disabled all other Subjects of the Realm, and debarred them from enlarging the Traffick of it, to the manifest impoverishing of all Owners of *Ships, Masters, Mariners, Fishermen, Clothiers, Tuckers, Spinsters*, and many Thousands of *handicraft Men*; besides the Decrease of the *Subsidies, Customs*, and other Impositions, and the *Decay of Navigation*; as well as that it abated the Price of our *own Commodities*, and enhanced Those from *abroad*.

It is evident, that the more Traders there are to any Country, the greater will be the *Exports* of their Product and Manufactures; and consequently all *exclusive Companies* are generally allowed to be prejudicial to the Nation, as they lessen our *Exports* and *Navigation*, and enable Men to set their own Price upon such Commodities as they *import*; which must give our Rivals in *Trade* a very great Advantage over us in those particular Branches.

Whether those wholesome Laws, which were provided to suppress all *Monopolies*, are abrogated or suspended, will not here be a material Enquiry; since it is sufficient to shew the Inconveniencies and Mischiefs, which have attended them to the Nation, and even to those *select Bodies themselves*.

The *Whale Fishery* which was once very advantageous to *Great-Britain*, and a considerable Nursery for *Seamen*, was lost by its being *monopolized* by the *Greenland Company*, while the *Dutch* and *Hamburghers* have since employed in it above 400 Sail of Ships yearly.

We once shared the Trade to *India* for *Nutmegs*, *Cloves* and *Spice*, with the *Portugueze*; but by their Negligence, and the Mismanagement of the *old East-India Company*, the *Dutch* supplanted us both, and have engrossed those valuable Commodities to themselves.

The Trade to *Africa* might have been made much more beneficial, had it never been vested in a *Company*, but left free and open to all the Subjects of *England*, without any *Imposition* or *Restraint* whatever; for by the Avarice, Negligence, and ill Conduct of the former Managers, their Stock fell from 480, as every Share of 100 *l.* in that *Company* was once sold for, to forty *Shillings*; and the *Portugueze*, *Dutch*, *French*, and *Danes*, by those Means, became Sharers with us in that Trade, which we might have engrossed to our selves, and would thereby have been more valuable to *England* than the *Mines* of *Mexico* and *Peru*; which would likewise have been dependant, and in effect our own. Nor were These the only Mischiefs, which happened to the Nation. The *Sugar Colonies*, being then in their Infancy, were stunted in their Growth, by being scantily supplied with *Negroes*, which were absolutely necessary in them; and laboured under many other *Hardships* and *Oppressions* from that *Company*. If we now consider the vast Encrease of our *Exports* and *Navigation* in that particular Branch of Commerce, since it was laid open; and the Duty to the *Company* (which was for some Years paid by the *separate Traders*) taken off; and the great *Improvements*, which have been made in our *Plantations*, by being furnished with a sufficient Number of *Negroes*; there can be no need of any other

other Arguments to convince every disinterested and impartial Person of the Truth of the Position, which I have here laid down.

The *South-Sea Company* may not improperly be said to be in their *Meridian*. Yet the most sanguine of their Friends are doubtful, how their Account stands with relation to *Trade*; while their *Opponents* give very plausible Reasons, without bringing into the Estimate any *Frauds* or *Seizures*, which have been made by the *Spaniards*, of their having lost very considerably by it; and that they have only diverted the Channels of Trade, without making any new Acquisitions to the Nation; and though their Charter is not *exclusive*, excepting in the *South Seas*, (which they have given up by their Acceptance of the *Assiento Contract*) and the *Whale Fishery*; yet it is worth considering, says a late Author, how far it is consistent with their *Charter* to trade either on the *Coast of Guinea*, or in our own *Plantations*; and that whenever any Company attempts to trade beyond their *Limits*, it ought to alarm every Man, who has any Regard for Trade, or the true Interest of his Country. This is indeed a very just Observation, and worthy the Notice and Consideration of our *Representatives in Parliament*; for if that *Company* be not restrained by their Charter, or any Law in being, and they are left at Liberty to carry on a Trade to *Africa* and other Parts, which are not expressly mentioned or intended to be granted them, they are enabled to drive so considerable a Trade, as must consequently diminish the Number of *British Merchants*, and make *all other Traders and Manufacturers*, and almost every Corporation in England dependent on them. And how mischievous may such an Influence be, some time or other, to our Constitution? We may then perhaps bid farewell to our Trade and Liberties. We shall no longer hold the *Ballance of Power in Europe*, nor ride *Masters of the Seas*.

It is undoubtedly a very great Grievance to the Nation, among others, which have crept in, by means of those *Companies*, that a *Charter* is no sooner granted to a select Number of People, but immediately arises a Set of Men called *Governors*, *Sub-Governors*, *Directors*, *Stock-Jobbers*, &c. who divide their Stock into *Shares*, and then negotiate them in the *Alley*, before it is known whether they have any *intrinsic Value* or not; and if there be any *true Value*, which few of them ever had, instead of carrying on the Design by fair and industrious Means, some wicked Artifice is contrived to raise it to an *imaginary Height*, and thereby delude and ruin many Thousands of innocent and unwary Persons.

Such delusive Arts were unknown to our virtuous Ancestors; and therefore our antient Laws are either defective, or so far doubtful, as not to restrain, or sufficiently discourage those infamous Practices. But it is, methinks, a melancholy Consideration, that unhappy Persons shall suffer the Law for Crimes, which they committed through Necessity, and not Inclination, as without doubt many have done, even for small Sums; whilst Villains of the deepest Dye, who, in effect, rob the Fatherless and Widows, in common with thousands of others, usually escape with Impunity.

It would, in some Measure, prevent such artful and designing Men from enriching themselves, at the Expence and Ruin of others, by raising and falling of Stocks at their pleasure, if all *Companies* were obliged, once a Year, to state an *Account of Trade*, and lay it before their *general Court*; and if they were tied down from *dividing* more than their *Profits*, as the *Dutch East-India Company* are said to have done, with great honour to that Society. Nor indeed can the *Trade* of this Kingdom be improved or preserved, unless some *such Rules* are established; for how few have Virtue enough to encourage fair

Trade, and withstand the Temptations of *Dividends*, and the Advantages, which are made by the Rise and Fall of *Stocks*?

Hath not this easy Way of getting Money engross'd the Time and Attention of many wealthy Persons and others, who might be usefully employ'd in the Service of their Country as well as themselves, if they would bend their Thoughts to *Trade*, and other Professions, which really improve our national Stock? Hath not *Trade* decay'd ever since *Stock-jobbing* flourished and met with Encouragement? Have not our *Manufactures* diminished, our *Imports* and *Exports* in general declined, and our *Poor* become more numerous for want of Employ? Are not his Majesty's *Customs* impaired; and will they not waste still more and more proportionably with our *Trade*?

In fine, to what dangerous Uses may these *Companies* be made subservient, by *corrupt* and *enterprizing Ministers*? Is it not in their Power to conceal any *Advices* from abroad, which may affect our *Stocks*, till they have *bought* or *sold out*; and may they not, at any other Time, raise or fall them at their Pleasure? Is not the *Common-Seal* of all *Companies*, by which they may at any Time raise what Sums of Money they please, equal to a Power of *coining*, or *taxing* their Fellow-Subjects; which even the *King* himself cannot do, without consent of Parliament? Have not all *Ministries* an influence over those *Companies*; and may they not by their means be able to influence the *Elections* of every City, and *trading Town* in *England*? And what may we not justly apprehend from such a formidable, complicated Power; which may, one Time or other, destroy our happy Constitution?

We are indeed secure under the *present Administration*; who have given such Demonstrations of their Virtue and disinterested Love of their Country, that they can never be suspected of any *corrupt* or *dangerous Practices*; but though the Prospect is distant, and per-

haps may never be nearer; yet it is certainly incumbent on us to imitate the great Examples of our Ancestors, in the Care of *Trade* and of *Posterity*. What will all other Cares avail, if we cannot secure to our Children the Fruits of our Labour, and those invaluable Blessings, which we enjoy?—However *remote* or *imaginary* these Apprehensions may seem to be, my Pen shakes in my Hand, at the very Thoughts of them. I tremble for *Posterity* and for my *Country*.

O.

*I am Sir,**Your humble Servant,*

CHARLES FREEPORT.

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,

AMONGST all the Observations, which you have made upon *Ministers*, I wonder you never took any Notice of the following Reflection of the *Duke de Rochefaucault*, which hath a deal of Truth, as well as Humour in it.

“KINGS, *says he*, make MINISTERS as They do MONEY, by giving Them what *Value* They please; and the Publick is oblig'd to receive them according to the *Currency*, which the Crown gives them, and not according to their own *intrinsic Worth*.”

I could not forbear pursuing this *Metaphor*, or *Allusion* (or what else you may please to call it) a little farther in my own Mind, and concluding from hence, that if a *very dull Fellow*, or, perhaps, *two very dull Fellows*, should at any Time, be made *Secretaries of State*, it would be just the same Thing as if an arbitrary Prince should coin *leaden Shillings*, and order them to pass currently in his Dominions. I have been think-

ing, in the same Manner, that if a Man, whose chief Qualification is a *very good Assurance*, was to be placed at the Head of the *Finances*, He would resemble a Kind of *base Money*, in which there is more *Brass* than *true Sterling*; and that we may compare *some Ambassadors*, of compound ill Qualities, to a Coin of that Metal, which is composed partly of *Copper* and partly of *Block-Tin*.

Such *false, adulterated, or imaginary Money* as This, may do well enough for *domestick Use* under *absolute Governments*; but, in *free Countries*, the People expect something of a *real, intrinsick Value*. And tho' it may be objected, that even We of this Kingdom have had *such Coin* imposed upon us in *former Reigns*; yet our Eyes are at present too much open'd to take *meer Dross* for *true Sterling*; it being fresh in every Body's Memory how a late *BRAZEN Project*, of this Nature, was rejected, in a neighbouring Kingdom, with universal Indignation.

But however the Necessities of *Princes* or the ill Designs of *Ministers* may make them endeavour to impose such *Coinage* upon the People *at home*, I am sure it will never do for *Exportation*; and if the *ablest Politician* in the World should attempt to corrupt any *foreign Prince or Minister* into his Interest with such *counterfeit Money*, he would infallibly meet with Disappointments, and make a most ridiculous Figure in *Negotiation*.

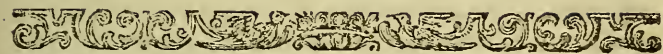
I submit This, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to your Judgment, and am,

C.

Your constant Reader, and

most impartial Admirer,

JACK HINTER.

N^o 115. SATURDAY, *September 14*, 1728.

Nec Tibi regnandi veniat tam dira Cupido. VIRG.

othing can give a publick Writer more solid Satisfaction than to find that his Labours are generally approved by his Fellow-Subjects; and nothing can be a stronger Evidence of This, than to see his Works read with Pleasure, and Multitudes of People voluntarily engaging themselves in the same Design. For this Reason, I am particularly pleased with those private Assistances, which I daily receive from my Correspondents. It looks as if the Generality of my Countrymen esteemed this Undertaking to be a *common Cause*; and thought themselves, in some Manner, obliged to communicate every Thing, which may be of Use in carrying it on.

Amongst other Favours of this Kind, I have lately received a valuable Present of an *old and scarce Pamphlet* (said to be printed at *Paris* in the Year 1628) intituled the POWERFUL FAVOURITE; or the Life of ÆLIUS SEJANUS; who, being descended of a *private Family*, though of *equestrian Order*, raised Himself to the Station of *sole Minister* and *Favourite* of the Emperor *Tiberius*, whom He entirely governed for several Years. Upon the Title-Page of this Piece are the following Words, written in an old Hand, (*viz.*) *As a satirical Reproof to the then Duke of BUCKS.*

One of my ingenious Correspondents hath already obliged the Publick with some Outlines of the Cha-

rafter of *Sejanus*, in his Observations on a *Medal*, which appears to have been struck upon the Fall of that great, wicked Minister; but as I am pretty confident, that a farther Account of his *Life* and *Conduct* will be agreeable to my Readers, I design to fill up this Day's Paper with some Extracts from the *Pamphlet* before mentioned; not doubting that they will make proper Allowances for the *Style* and *Orthography* of those Times.

The Author, having given a very short Account of his Rise, and the Methods, by which he ingratiated himself into the Favour of his Prince, goes on thus.

“ This Favour attracted all Hearts. All Eyes followed this *new Light*. The *Senate* communicated their weighty Affairs with Him, and from his Hand received their most important Dispatches. The *great Ones* held themselves honoured by his Commands. If He speaks, He obligeth them. If He regard, they are contented. They wait, in the Morning, at the Gates of his House. They endure, with Patience, the Rigour of his Doorkeepers, and reward them to be the first that may enter; and gaining Access to the *Idol*, which they adored, every one of them force themselves to faine the greatest Amplifyings to extol Him, and the greatest Submission to flatter Him.

“ In the Beginning of his Grace, he laboured to have it conceived that He was founded in a firm Resolution to advance his Service to the Prince, and the Good of the Weale Publike, and only to admit Justice in his Actions, Prudence in his Counsaile, and Modesty in his Prosperity. He carried, in outward Appearance, *Moderation*; but inwardly, *Ambition*. This he discovered in his *wasteful Expences* and *Prodigalities*; in the Magnificence of his *Household*, *Furniture* and *Pictures*; in the Excess of
“ his

“ his *sumptuous Feasts*, as if they had been *Sacrifices*;
 “ and in the *Pride of his Pallaces*, gilded as if they
 “ had been *Temples*. He was industrious and vigilant
 “ to attaine to his Ends. He had a ready Under-
 “ standing to know the Subjects, and to apprehend
 “ necessary Means; accommodating Himself to *Plain-
 “ nefs* or *Severity* to the Occasions.

“ To strengthen His Partie, He dressed his Speeches
 “ and Intelligences in the *Senate*, and procured that
 “ his *Friends* should be provided and honoured with
 “ *Charges* and *Governments*; knowing that it was
 “ not sufficient to hold Authority with the *Souldiery*,
 “ if He wanted it with the *Senate* and *Justiciars*,
 “ who held so great Estimation amongst the *People*.

“ The *Charges* and *Dignities* were conferred upon
 “ his Recommendation. It was enough to approve
 “ their *Merit*, that They were near Him by *Kindred*
 “ or *Alliance*. *Tiberius* named two Proconsuls of
 “ *Afrike*, *Lepidus* and *Blæsus*; and commanded the
 “ Senate to choose the best deserving of them two.
 “ The one of them was a Man of excellent Parts.
 “ The other was *UNCLE* of *Sejanus*. *Tiberius* was
 “ desirous that his *Affection* might conform with the
 “ *Senate*, to the End the *People* might not murmur at
 “ an Election, which had no other *Merit* than *Favour*.
 “ *Lepidus*, who knew it would not passe for Him,
 “ excused Himself of this Charge, and was taken at
 “ his Word. *Blæsus*, who was assured of it, made
 “ Semblance to refuse it, and carried it.

“ He, that had *Sejanus* his *Protector*, needed not,
 “ with any great Labour, to search for *Honours*. He,
 “ that had him his *Enemy*, languished under *Dispraise*
 “ and *Misery*. None had any *Honour*, without his
 “ *Favour*; neither, without Him, could any one
 “ keepe any with *Innocency* and *Virtue*.

“ The least *Suspensions* (under his *Administration*)
 “ were Crimes; very Words capital; and to bemoan
 “ their *lost Liberties*, was to run headlong unto Death—

“ No

“ No Offence pass'd without Penalties. Those against
 “ *Sejanus* were punish'd as rigourously as Those a-
 “ gainst the *Emperour*; for They made Him believe
 “ that *Hee* received the *Counterbuisse* of all that was
 “ done against *Sejanus*.

“ This Torrent of Pride and Insolence overflows.
 “ There is none that staies it. All, that might keepe
 “ it in, is cast downe. *Tiberius* is blamed to submit
 “ the Fortune of the *Empire* to the Discretion of *one*
 “ *Man alone*, and *his Will* to the Humour of *his Ser-*
 “ *vant*.

Tiberius having refused to give his Consent, that
Livia should marry *Sejanus*, which He had requested
 of him, the Author goes on thus——“ But *Seja-*
 “ *nus* was not so much in Pain about the Successe of
 “ his Marriage, as with the *Suspensions*, which began
 “ to engender in the Fantasie of *Tiberius* against that
 “ great and powerful *Authority*, which He had usur-
 “ ped in all Affairs; which in short Time causeth
 “ Confidence to degenerate into Fear, Affection into
 “ Jealousie, and Liberty into Necessity.

“ To have too great Subjects is no good Signe of
 “ the Prince's own Greatness; and yet notwithstanding
 “ it is the true Property of great Princes to raise
 “ Merit and recompence Services; for wheresoever
 “ Virtue is found, it will be honoured; it considers
 “ more the Person than the Country, Industry more
 “ than Birth.

“ It is no Matter if this Favour procure the Jea-
 “ lousie of great Ones, the Envy of Equals, or the
 “ Hatred of Inferiours, so it trouble not the Order of
 “ Affaires, and that particular Interest swallow not up
 “ the Publick. For when This shall come to pass, and
 “ that to enrich a few of these Favourites the State is
 “ impoverished, and all put in Disorder; the Prince,
 “ which so indiscreetly distributeth his Favours, is de-
 “ spised, as having neither Judgment nor Justice in
 “ his Elections; and the Favourite finds by Experience,
 “ that

“ that there is no greater Punishment than the public-like Hatred.”

• This arbitrary Minister having persuaded his Master to send Letters to the Senate against *Agrippina* and her Children, who were very much beloved by the People, our Author makes the following just Observations.

—————“ And hereupon there wanted not *Satirs* to be dispersed abroad, so much the more bitter, by how much the Authors were *unknowne*; and are the more greedily collected and sought after, by how much the more they are *sharp* and *ingenious*.

“ *Sejanus*, who should have warded these Blows by his Contempt of them, gives this Contentment to his Enemies, as to let them know that This troubles Him; and lets the *Emperour* see that his Majesty is wronged by his Injury.

“ Fortune now beganne to be weary with favouring *Sejanus*. She abandoned his Insolency and bad Carriage; as if she had but raised Him to cause Him to fall from so high a Pitch, as no Body should dare to stretch out their Arme, or present their Bosome to receive Him. *Tiberius*, who loved Him, began to fear Him; and seeing the Senate to make more Account of Him than Himself, entered into some Apprehensions that They would make Him *Emperour*, and from thenceforth purposed to plucke this Thorne out of his Heart; but He did nothing rashly; for it was dangerous, not only to undertake to ruine Him, but to make a Shew thereof. All the *Souldiers* were at his Devotion. All the *Senators* depended on Him, either for good Turns past, for Fear, or for Hope; and *Tiberius* his Servants were so wrought to Him, that He could neither doe or say any Thing, that was not reported to *Sejanus*; and He knew nothing of all that He plotted.

“ The antient Gentry was degenerated into so great a Pusillanimity, as *Tiberius* sometimes derided the
“ same;

“ same; and one Day coming out of the Pallace, Hee
 “ cryed aloud, *O ye Men prepared for Servitude!* This
 “ sordid Submission stank in his Nostrils; and altho’
 “ He had destroyed the *publike Liberty*, yet He was
 “ ashamed to see nothing *generous* or *free* in their par-
 “ ticular Actions; *Rome* brought forth nothing but
 “ *soft Spirits*, and grieved to remember her brave Ci-
 “ tizens, who chose rather to dye than to be obliged,
 “ for their Lives, unto Servitude or to Prayers. The
 “ old saying ceased to be verified, *that Rome was*
 “ *fertile in generous Men, as Athens in Philosophers,*
 “ *Sparta in Captains, and Thebes in Gods.*

“ He (*Sejanus*) had Men, *fit for any Thing.* *Seneca*
 “ calls them his *DOGGES*, which would fawne on
 “ Nobody but *Himselſe*, and would barke at any *Body*
 “ *else*; for he fed them with *Men’s Blood*; and a
 “ strange thing it is, that the *GREATEST made them-*
 “ *selves Instruments of his Passions.*

And yet, as our Author observes, even this wicked,
 bloody, rapacious, insolent, and most abominable Mi-
 nister is delivered down, by *Velleius Paterculus*, in
 amiable Colours; which shews that the *worst Men in*
Power will never want *Flatterers*.

“ Onely I wonder, *says He*, that having purchased
 “ so many *Friendes*, he had *want of Friendes*; that
 “ amongst so many *Heads*, depending upon *his*, and
 “ which could not subsist if his were taken away,
 “ there was none that would speak *freely* and *truly*
 “ unto Him, to prevent his Ruine. But it is the
 “ common Mishap of *great Ones*; all the Discourse
 “ we hold with them must be *grateful* and *soothing*.
 “ They thinke that *Truth* owes them all, whiche *Ob-*
 “ *servance* and *Respect* doth lend them. If there were
 “ *Judges* ordained for *Flattery*, They would have no
 “ *Doeings*; for there is none will complaine that He
 “ is *flattered*.

“ *Sejanus* was so unfortunate, that he had not any
 “ Friend that would say unto Him sincerely and freely;

“ Sir,

“ *Sir, moderate your Spirit ; dispite not your Fortune ;*
“ *play not with your Master ; abuse not your Favour ;*
“ *this Time will not last alwayes ; Patience too much*
“ *wronged turnes to Furie — And if one should have*
“ *said so much, He would not have beleev'd it. Pride*
“ *did dazell Him. He bragged to have Fire and Wa-*
“ *ter in his Hands ; and that he would use them as*
“ *he pleas'd.*

“ *Tiberius then perceiving, although too late, that*
“ *Sejanus snapt at the Grapes ; that he built his Hopes*
“ *upon His Tomb ; and that he did not only dreame,*
“ *but verily thinke, yea even attempt the Empire ;*
“ *resolves to quench the Fire of this Ambition with*
“ *the Blood of the Ambitious. He had many Rea-*
“ *sons for this Suspicion ; particularly his Insolency,*
“ *which was growne so high, that Hee could no*
“ *longer keep it downe ; the Excess of his Power in*
“ *Affairs of the Senate, of the Treasure and Command-*
“ *ments ; and his great Train of Servants and At-*
“ *tendants, whose Obsequiousnesse impaired his Com-*
“ *plexion.*

“ *But Tiberius is blamed for two Acts, shewing*
“ *Feebleness of Courage. The first, for having suf-*
“ *fered the Increase of so great a Power, which can-*
“ *not be attained with too much Paine, nor lessened*
“ *with too much Severitie. The Tree, which at*
“ *first was but a little Twigge, spread its Head and*
“ *Branches so high, that it made Him a very dangerous*
“ *Shade.—— The State cannot suffer two Kings, no*
“ *more than the World two Sunnes, or the Temple*
“ *two Deities. The second is, for using so much*
“ *Ceremony or Delay in so urgent an Occasion ; so*
“ *much Cunning in so great Power ; so much Trem-*
“ *bling and Feare in so great Assurance ; for to rid*
“ *him from him, He made Him his Colleague in the*
“ *Consulship ; and never had any been associated with-*
“ *out disastrous Success.*

“ *Shameless*

“ *Shameless Impudence*, (*says my Author*) accompa-
 “ nied with *Pride*, drew from his Mouth these
 “ Words, which should not have enter’d into his
 “ Thoughts; *I am Emperour of Rome, and Tiberius*
 “ *is Prince of the Isle.*

“ *Sejanus* came thus farre, that the *Senate* made
 “ Sacrifices both for *Tiberius* and for *Him*, and or-
 “ dained that his *Birth-day* should be publickly so-
 “ lemnized; that they should sweare by *his Name*;
 “ that when he should be *absent* from the Towne,
 “ there should be *Ambassadors* distinctly sent unto
 “ *Him*, as unto the *Emperour*.

“ But as Thunder commonly happeneth when the
 “ Skie seems most cleare, so *Sejanus* saw Himself
 “ surrounded with a Storme in one of the fairest Daies
 “ of his Fortune. He had many Præfages of his Mis-
 “ fortune; yet because the *Emperour* carried on his
 “ Designs secretly, and *Sejanus* found nothing charg-
 “ ed expressly against Him, he believed it to be no-
 “ thing but the Vapours of his wayward Disposition;
 “ of his Distrust and Unequalnesse; and that there
 “ was none so bold in the Companie as to resolve to
 “ offend Him; for He could tell better how to make
 “ Himself feared and obeyed, than *Tiberius* could
 “ make Himself to be loved and revered.

“ But when He saw that Those, whom He had
 “ wronged, and that feared Him, began to talk louder
 “ than the rest, He judged the Partie to be made for
 “ his Confusion. His most *intimate Friends* turned
 “ their Backes to him; for where are the Men that
 “ in *Adversitie* remember *good Turnes*, or who thinke
 “ themselves to be obliged unto the miserable? We
 “ must not look for sound Friendship in *Courts*, nor
 “ any moderate Envie. This is the Cause wherefore
 “ the *Wise* break not with any Man.

“ The Consul *Regulus* calleth Him. He riseth not;
 “ not for *Pride*; for He was much humbled; but
 “ because He was not accustomed to obey. He calls
 “ Him

“ Him the second and third Time; and, reaching Him
“ his Hand, saith, *Sejanus come hither. Call you me,*
“ replied *Sejanus?* and saying so, rose up. Then
“ *Laco*, Knight of the Watch, layes hold on Him.
“ They bind Him and carrie Him out of the Temple
“ to Prison; from *supreame Honours* to *extreame Ig-*
“ *nominie.*

“ His *Statues*, at the verie same Instant, are broken
“ downe, and dragged with Ropes into the Fire to
“ be molten with the Pieces of the *Head*, which was
“ adored as the *second* of the Worlde, and which
“ made the *Senate* to quake, were made small Imple-
“ ments for *Kitchen Uses*. There was so small an In-
“ terval between his *Exaltation* and his *Fall*, that He
“ was no sooner threatned but stricke. And seeing,
“ at his comming forth, what was done to his *Images*,
“ he concluded that the *Original* would be as ill
“ handled; and it was his greatest Trouble, that he
“ had not been prepared long before for this Misfor-
“ tune; an ordinarie Fault in *Those*, which are rayfed
“ to high Dignities, who are never wise till after the
“ *Blowe*; and who having the Means to come downe
“ at their Ease, stay till they be thrust headlong.

“ Those, that saw Him dragged along the Streetes
“ with a Hooke in his Throat, laughed at Him, and
“ sware *they never loved Him.*

“ *Seneca* reports truely, that He saw with Astonish-
“ ment that He, whom the Senate had accompanied,
“ in the Morning, with great Reverence, from his
“ House to the Palace, was the same Day cut in Pieces;
“ so that of a Person, in whom the Gods and Men
“ had put all that is good and great together (by
“ which is meant whom they had blessed with all the
“ Goods and Grandeur of this World) there remained
“ nothing for the Hangman.

“ The Senate, after his Fall, commanded that the
“ Statue of *Libertie* should be reared up in the Market-
“ place; and that everie Yeere, on the Day that Se-
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“ *janus* was slaine, there should be represented a
 “ Combat on Horse-backe, and diverse Beasts be kil-
 “ led, which had never been done before. They or-
 “ dained also that *immoderate Honours* should no more
 “ be given to any Man, and that Men should not
 “ sweare by any other Name than the *Emperour's*.

“ By how much the great *Prosperitie* of *Sejanus*
 “ had beene admired, so much the more did his *Fall*
 “ administer Feare and Astonishment. Never any
 “ Man before Him had received greater Honours,
 “ more universal or more unhopd for; and all the
 “ Favours and Dignities, that all the Kings in *Europe*
 “ can put together to raise a Man by, cannot be pa-
 “ rallel with These here.

“ He made it knowne to all and everie where, for
 “ a long Time, what He could doe. He possessed, for
 “ sixteen Yeeres, the Power of an Empire, which
 “ commanded all the World, and which at first had
 “ for its Limits and Bounds the Sun rising and set-
 “ ting. *Euphrates* shut up the Frontiers thereof to-
 “ wards the East; *Mons Altus*, the Cataracts of *Nilus*,
 “ and the Deserts of *Afrique* towards the South; the
 “ Ocean towards the West; and the River *Danubius*
 “ to the North; so that wherever the *Sunne* went,
 “ thither also went his *Commandments*.

“ What Glorie ever mounted more high, or de-
 “ scended more low! In seeking after too much Ho-
 “ nour and Wealth, He did nought else but reare
 “ upon a high Tower a great Scaffold, to the End
 “ that his Fall might be from the more high Place,
 “ and the Precipice of his Ruine the more horrid
 “ and fearefull.

“ He shall for ever hereafter be noted as a prodigi-
 “ ous Example of *extreame Insolence* and *unfortunate*
 “ *Ambition*; and his tragical End teacheth us, *that*
 “ *we can never use well such Power as is ill gotten*;
 “ that we may not judge of a Man's Felicitie before
 “ his Death; nor of the Day before the Evening;

“ nor

“ nor of the Building before it be finished ; that *That*
“ *Favour*, which is acquired by *Merit* or good *For-*
“ *tune*, is conserved by *Modestie*, and lost by *Insplencie*;
“ and that the *most assured* should have their whole
“ Dependencie upon the meere Grace and Bountie of
“ the PRINCE ALONE.”

POSTSCRIPT. *From my own Chambers.*

I Do not think myself accountable for any thing, but what I write or publish myself; and therefore I have hitherto despised the Attempts, which some little Scribblers have lately made to asperse my Character, by suggesting that I am engaged in the *same Design* with the Author of a Letter, published in *Mist's Journal*, on *Saturday* the 24th of last Month.

But as the meanest Calumnies may have some Weight, when they are propagated by eminent Hands; and as a *certain venerable Journalist* hath thought fit, from an Abundance of Zeal and a Deficiency of Argument, to throw out the same vile and pitiful Insinuations; I should be wanting to my own Character as well as to his, if I did not take some Notice of Him.

I have, upon all Occasions, so warmly and affectionately espoused the Interest of their present most excellent Majesties, their Royal Family, and the Protestant Succession in their illustrious House, that this Writer is pleased, with great *Decency*, to ascribe my *just Encomiums*, on their Accession, to a Spirit of *Adulation*, and an *Endeavour* to HEIGHTEN *their Excellencies*; but I must insist, (with all due Submission to this *Protestant Pope* and *Searcher of Hearts*) that what I said, on that joyful Occasion, proceeded from the real, unfeigned Sentiments of my Heart; that I have still the same high Opinion of *their Excellencies* (which, I think, stand in Need of no *Adulation* or *beightning*) and that I will always exert the same Endeavours to recommend them to the People, not-

withstanding the vile Suggestions of this *time-serving Writer*.

As to the *Design* of the Author of *Mist's Journal*, and *myself*, I think it would be meer Loss of Time to trouble the Reader with any *Explanation* or *Discrimination*; for the Publick seems to be very well apprized of the *true* and *only Design* of this Paper; which is to expose the Characters of *wicked Ministers*, antient and modern; a Design, which, I presume, may be carried on, without the least just Imputation of Disaffection to the *Prince*.

This *Writer* ought to recollect that *He* (or his *Predecessor*, at least) hath formerly been very free with his Brethren of the *Clergy*; from whence some of his Adversaries reproached him with a Design against *Christianity* itself, because *Infidels* and *Free-Thinkers* were known to be his Admirers. He should remember likewise how He resented such Imputations as unjust and uncharitable; and if I should, in Return for his Usage to me, join *Him* with *Toland*, *Collins*, and *Tindal*, in a grave Discourse against *Unbelievers*; I doubt not that he would be full of his usual, pathetic Complaints against such Treatment; and yet I will defy Him, with all his Sagacity, to prove that a Man may not inveigh against *wicked Ministers*, without the least ill Intention against his *Prince*, in the same Manner that he wrote against *wicked Clergymen*, without any Design, as He declared, against *Religion* itself.

But whatever my *Design* may be, it is too plain what *His* is; though methinks He ought to be the last Man in the World, who should give any Countenance to the least Restraint on the *Liberty of the Press*, who hath made such ample Use of it Himself.

But we have the Pleasure to reflect, that such wretched Arguments will never prevail on a good *Prince* or an *honest Parliament*, to deprive a whole People of one of their most valuable Rights, for the Sake of punishing a single Transgressor.

It is a Maxim with me that the *Person of the Prince*, and the *Liberties of the People* ought to be equally sacred and inviolable.

Upon this Principle I have constantly proceeded in these Writings; and I hope that I shall never live to be so inconsistent with myself as to contradict them by my *Practice*, for *secular* and *sordid* Advantages.

I am not therefore afraid of any *Enquiries*, into the *Reasons of my present Conduct*; but if He is resolved to engage me in a *Theologico-Political* War upon this Subject, I am ready to enter the Lists with Him; and desire only this Favour, that he will not charge me with the *Design* of any Writings, which are not *absolutely* and *properly* my own.

If he should have Recourse to his usual Sophistries, and please to be surprized that I should be so angry with a *Paper*, in which my *Name* is not so much as mentioned; my only Reply shall be, that neither have I mentioned *his Name*; and yet I believe and hope that the World will not be at a Loss to guess *whom I mean*.

I confess the Imputation of an *ill Design* against my *Prince*, whom I love, honour and reverence as much as any Man in *Great Britain*, hath put me into some Warmth; and This must be my Excuse to the Reader for having taken so much Notice of a *ridiculous, insipid Paper*, which is given up as such by Writers of the *same Party*; especially the Author of a late Pamphlet, dedicated to Sir Robert Walpole, and intitled, *An Essay on the Taste and Writings of the present Times*, &c. which concludes, as I shall do at present, with the following just Observation.

“ I have often thought, *says He*, that the Author
“ of the *London Journal* is a much more dangerous
“ Enemy to the *present Ministry*, which he (good
“ Man!) endeavours to defend, than any other of our
“ *publick Writers*. His *Encomiums* upon them are
“ generally so unfortunately flat and dull, that one

“ can’t help suspecting that He is *sneering* at them ;
 “ so that if He hath really an *Affection* for their Ser-
 “ vice, I would advise him, by all Means, to endea-
 “ vour to *satirize* them; for That is the only Way
 “ He is capable of *serving* them. D.



N^o 116. SATURDAY, September 21, 1728.

HERE are very few Professions, to which the ill Nature of the World hath not annexed some particular Term of Ignominy or reproachful Imputation. Thus, the Humanity of a *Butcher*, the Conscience of a *Lawyer*, or *Usurer*, the Chastity of an *Oyster-Woman*, the Integrity of a *Statesman*, the Meekness of a *Soldier*, and the Manhood of a *Taylor*, are standing To-picks of Satire and Ridicule.

However just such Reproaches may be on some Particulars; or even the Generality of Men of these Professions; we ought certainly to make a Multitude of Exceptions; and the least Observation will convince us that They may often be as properly applied to Men of other Vocations as to Those, on whom They are generally and proverbially fixed. I have known, for Instance, many tender-hearted *Butchers*; *Usurers* of Moderation; and *Lawyers* of strict Justice. We have *Tailors*, in this Town, as fierce as Lions; and *Soldiers* as meek as Lambs. Even *Billingsgate*, I hope, can produce some Virgins of unspotted Virtue; and, as incredible as it may seem, I have been assured, from very good Hands, that there lives, as this Time, near St. J—’s, a *Statesman*, as just and uncorrupt as *Aristides* Himself.

I believe no Society of Men have suffered more under these general Imputations, than the Gentlemen of the *Clergy*. The Cruelties, Ambition, and ridiculous Pretensions of some of the Priesthood have involved their Brethren, of all Denominations, in a Suspicion of the same odious Designs; though it is evident that many of them have remarkably distinguished Themselves in the Cause of *publick Liberty*; and that there are *other Persons*, besides *Churchmen*, in whom such a tyrannical Spirit is conspicuously prevailing.

I often divert myself, at my leisure Hours, with dipping into the *Tale of a Tub*; and cannot help thinking, with Submission to wiser Heads, that the Cause of *Popery* and *Spiritual Tyranny* hath received a deeper Wound from the inimitable Vein of Wit, Humour, and fine Satire, which runs through that Book, than from all the *grave, controversial Treatises*, which have been published since.

As I was, t'other Day, reading the History of *Lord Peter*, and his Conduct to his *Brothers*, with more than ordinary Attention, a Thought came into my Head, which had never occurred to me before, *viz.* that this Character seems to fit *some Body* else, besides his *Holiness* at Rome; and that there may be a *civil Pope* as well as a *spiritual* one; a *Lord Peter* in the *State* as well as in the *Church*.

The first Thing related of *Peter*, in the History before-mentioned, is, that He was born to no Estate besides a *plain Coat*, which his Father left him; but being of a forward Genius, and notable Management, He soon made his Court to *three great Ladies*; namely, the Dutchess *d'Argent*; *Madame de Grand Titres*; and the Countess *d'Orgueil*, (by which, says Mr. *Wootton*, is meant *Covetousness, Ambition* and *Pride*;) and, in order to recommend Himself to them, lined his Coat with a rich *Flame-coloured Sattin*, which was just then come into Fashion, and clapt a great flaunting *Shoulder-Knot* upon it, and a *Triple Crown* upon

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his

his Head, with this Motto, *Tria juncta in uno*. When He had swagger'd about for some Time in this Habit, though it was directly contrary to his Father's Will, He cast it off for *another* more gorgeous; and always took particular Care, that the *greatest* Lord in the Kingdom should not go *better dressed* than Himself.

My Author next takes Notice that *Peter*, being resolved to pursue his Scheme of *Power* and *Wealth*, thought it convenient to keep People in the *Dark*, by *locking up his Father's Will*, and prohibiting them to *publish* any Account of his Proceedings on Pain of Damnation.

It is farther recorded, that being puffed up with Vanity on his *Success* and his *fine Clothes*, He began to tyrannize over his *two Brothers*, (one of whom is said to be a very *ridiculous, out-of-the-way Fellow*) and took upon Him the Style of *Lord Peter*; but being sensible, that this Grandeur could not be maintained without a better *Fonde*, than what He was born to, He turn'd *Projector* and *Virtuoso*; in which He succeeded so well, that many famous *Discoveries* and *Projects*, which bear great Vogue and Practice at present in the World, are entirely owing to his Invention.

The first Undertaking, *says my Author*, of *Lord Peter*, was to purchase a *large Continent*, lately said to have been discovered in *Terra australis incognita*; by which, *says a learned Annotator*, is meant the imaginary Kingdom of *Purgatory*. But I take this Explanation to be erroneous; because it is well known, that *Lord Peter* is actually possessed of a very large *real Estate*; and therefore believe, that by the Word *Incognita* ought to be understood his *secret, unaccountable* Methods of raising Money to purchase this Estate.

In the next Place he set up for a *Physician*, (tho' He had only the Character of a *meer Quack*) and pretended that He had found out a sovereign Remedy
for

for most Distempers; especially a *golden Specifick* for the *Spleen*, and an *universal Pickle* for broken Reputations; of which he made great and singular Advantages.

He likewise erected a *whispering Office* to discover *Secrets*; and an *Office of Insurance* for his Friends from all *Damages* and *Casualties*, which they might happen to receive in his Service.

Lord Peter was also a great Encourager of *Puppets* and *Raree-Shows*, in order to catch weak Minds, and divert the Attention of others from his *Practices* and *Designs*.

But of all *Peter's* Rarities, says the Historian, He was most fond of a certain Sett of *BULLS*, descended from the same Race, which guarded the *golden Fleece*; though they had very much degenerated from their Ancestors in *some Qualities*, and acquired *others*, of a foreign Mixture; from whence it was doubted that the Breed had not been kept intirely *chaste*. However the terrible *Roaring*, peculiar to their Lineage, was preserved; as likewise the Faculty of breathing out *Fire* from their Nostrils. *Lord Peter* made use of these *Bulls* on various Occasions. Sometimes he would set them a *roaring* to fright *naughty Boys* and make them quiet; and sometimes to squeeze Money out of the *People*; for by a certain *Appetitus sensibilis* deriving itself through the whole Family from their noble Ancestors, Guardians of the *golden Fleece*, they continued so extremely fond of *Gold*, that if *Peter* sent them abroad, though it were only on a Complement, they would *roar* and *spit*, and *belch* and *p—ss*, and *f—t* and *snivel out Fire*, and keep a perpetual *Coyl*, till you flung them a Bit of *Gold*; but then, *Pulveris exigui jactu*, they would grow as calm and quiet as Lambs. In short, whether by *secret Connivance*, or *Encouragement from their Master*, or out of their own *liquorish Affection for Gold*, or both, it is certain they were no better than a sort of *sturdy, swaggering Beggars*;

Beggars; and where they could not prevail to get an *Alms*, would make Women miscarry, and Children fall in Fits; who, to this very Day, usually call *Sprites* and *Hobgoblins* by the Name of *Bull-Beggars*. They grew at last so very troublesome to the Neighbourhood, that some Gentlemen of the NORTH-WEST got a Parcel of right *English Bull-Dogs*, and baited them so terribly, that they felt it ever after.

There was one more of *Lord Peter's* Projects, which was very extraordinary, and discovered Him to be a Master of an *high Reach* and *profound Invention*. Whenever it happen'd that any Rogue of *Newgate* was condemned to be hanged, *Lord Peter* would offer Him a *Pardon* for a certain Sum of Money. It is confidently asserted that He got vast Sums by these Means; particularly by some *REBELS*, who happen'd to be defeated at that Time; and, it is said, that *some Wretches*, trusting to This, lost their *Lives* and *Money* too.

It will be no difficult Part to persuade the Reader that so many worthy Discoveries met with *great Success* in the World; though I may justly assure Him, that I have related much the smaller Number; my Design having been only to single out such as will be of most Benefit for publick Imitation; or which best served to give some Idea of the *Reach* and *Wit* of the *Inventor*. And therefore it need not be wondered at, if by this Time *Lord Peter* was become *exceedingly Rich*; but alas! He had kept his Brain so long and so violently upon the Rack, that at last it shook itself and began to turn round for a little Ease. In short, what with *Pride*, *Projects* and *Knavery*, poor *Peter* was grown distracted, and conceived the strangest Imaginations in the World. In the Height of his *Fits* (as it is usual with *Those*, who run mad out of *Pride*) He would call Himself *God almighty*, and sometimes *Monarch of the Universe*. At other Times, when he was somewhat more in his Senses, he assumed only the Title

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of *Vicar* or *Prime Minister of Christ*; but insisted that the *same Respect* and *Adoration* ought to be paid to Him; and that all Complaints against Him, though for *Immorality*, *Corruption* or the grossest *Profanation* of his Office, were, in Effect, *Rebellion* and *Blasphemy* against his *Master*.

He had likewise got a Trick of maintaining the most monstrous Propositions and shocking Absurdities that could possibly enter into his Head; as that a *Crust of Bread* was a *piece of Mutton* and a *Glass of Wine* at the same Time; that *two and two* make *fourteen*; that *absolute Freedom* is the highest Degree of *Slavery*; and that *He* had more *Sense*, *Honesty* and *Merit* than all the *World* besides; concluding every Position with, *G—d confound you all eternally, if you offer to believe otherwise*.

Nay, it is certain that *Lord Peter*, even in his lucid Intervals, was very *leudly given* in his common Conversation; extremely *wilful* and *positive*; and would at any Time rather argue to the Death, than allow Himself to be once in an *Error*. Besides, He had an abominable Faculty of telling *huge, palpable Lyes* upon all Occasions; and not only swearing to the Truth of them, but cursing the whole *Company* to Hell, if They pretended to make the least *Scruple* of *believing* Him. And what was the best Jest of it all, He would swear desperately all the while that *He* never told a *Lye* in his *Life*; and at every Word, *By G—d, Gentlemen, I DEFY you to prove that ever I did, and the D—l broil them eternally, that will not believe me*.

In short, *Peter* grew so scandalous, that all the Neighbourhood began, in plain Words, to say He was no better than a *Knave*. But when they went to expostulate with Him, and desired Him to give them an *Account* of his Actions, and the *Reasons* of them; instead of answering their Questions or granting their Request, He called them *damn'd Sons of Whores*, *Rogues*, *Trayters* and all the vile Names He could muster

muster up. At length, having raised a general Indignation, and being hard press'd, He openly set up a *Dragooning Force*; and threaten'd to put every Body to the Sword, who would not implicitly submit to his Authority.

This is the Character of *Lord Peter*, as deliver'd down by the facetious Historian; and I shall leave the Reader to conclude whether He hath not seen or heard, or read of *some Ministers*, in a *civil Capacity*; who resembled Him in many or most of his Features.

The only Reflection, which I shall make upon it at present is, that as these ridiculous, insolent, absurd Claims and arbitrary Practices of *some Clergymen* have contributed more than any thing else to the Growth of *Infidelity* in the Church; so when *temporal Ministers* become *Lay-Popes*, and imitate their *spiritual Brethren* in Principle or Practice, it will as naturally produce *Uneasiness* and *Jealousy*, and *Discontent* in the State. D.



N^o 117. SATURDAY, *September 28*, 1728.

Pro ARIS & FOCIS.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS is a Point of so essential a Nature to the Constitution of this Kingdom in general, and particularly to our present happy Establishment, that I am determin'd to let slip no proper Opportunities of exerting myself in its Defence; and as the Author of the *London Journal* hath,

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at length, thought fit to throw off all Disguise, and openly plead for *such a Restraint on the Press*, as must in effect absolutely destroy the *Liberty* of it; I think this a *critical Juncture* (especially, when I consider some *late Incidents*) to appeal to my Countrymen on this *great Subject*.

But the present, captious Spirit of the Times obliges me to premise that, by *appealing* to the People, I do not mean any *Appeal* from his *most sacred Majesty*; or from *either House of Parliament*; or from the *great Sages of the Law*; or the *Gentlemen in the Administration*; but an *Appeal* from such *abject, slavish, prostitute Writers*, as I am now going to examine, in Justification of the *Freedom of the Press*, as it stands at present by the *Laws of the Land*.

It is the great Advantage of Those, who are really engaged in a *good Cause*, that it is impossible for their Adversaries to produce one solid Argument against them. This is, at present, my Case with Relation to the *Liberty of Writing*; which is so demonstrably justifiable and necessary to the Being of a *free Government*, that the *ablest Writers* would make a very ill Figure in any Attempts against it; but the *Author*, with whom I am at present concerned, hath performed so wretchedly on this Head, and even below his *usual Dulness*, that nothing but the Importance of the Cause, and the *present Circumstances* of the Times should oblige me to answer Him. Whether such unparallel'd Sophistry proceeded from a treacherous Design to expose his *Masters*, or from a natural Incapacity to write better, or from any venal Obligation to plead against his *Principles* and *Conscience*, I shall not take the Trouble to enquire; but (to use the Words of the present, excellent *Bishop of Sarum*) *I will stake my whole Reputation* upon the Issue of the Controversy now before us.

This worthy *Journalist* begins with informing us, that the learned Mr. Bayle hath written a large Dis-

sertation upon Libels; that He intends to make use of some of his Thoughts, and to take the Liberty to mingle them, as also some Hints from other Authors, with a few Reflections of his own.

I confess, I never read this *Dissertation*; and have no Opportunity of consulting it at present. It is very probable that Mr. *Bayle* hath condemned all *real Libels*; as every Man of Sense must do; but if we may form a Judgment from his other Writings, He could not treat this Subject in the same Manner with the *Journalist*, without being *as inconsistent with Himself*.

But since He thought fit to introduce his Discourse with the Authority of Mr. *Bayle*, He ought to have quoted Him in his *own Words*; that we might have been able to distinguish between *his Thoughts* and the *Hints of other nameless Authors* (who, perhaps, may be some *slavish, Court Writers*) as well as *his own Reflections*.

However, could He prove that He transcribed his whole Paper from the Writings of that *learned Gentleman*, it would be nothing to the Purpose. *Authority*, in such Cases, is of no Weight; and I will undertake to prove his Arguments to be weak, fallacious and inconsistent with a *free Government*, whether they proceed from *Himself* or Mr. *Bayle*, or any other *Author* whatsoever, even of the greatest Eminence—
Let us therefore examine the *Arguments* themselves, without considering from whom they come.

Other Authors, who have written upon this Subject, with the same Design, have been commonly so modest as to distinguish between *Libelling* and *just Satire*; but the *Journalist*, scorning all such Niceties, confounds them together, and does not advance one Argument, which is not equally conclusive against them *both*.

He tells us that *the common Apology for Libel or Satire is, that they are a kind of Supplement to the Laws; and that their great Use is to keep Men within the*

Bounds of Decency and Propriety, by the Fear of SHAME; which is very true with Relation to *Satire*, and hath been esteemed so by the wisest and best Men in all Ages; but a *Libel*, properly defin'd, is so far from being intended to preserve *Decency* and *Propriety*, that the only Design of it is to calumniate the Persons and misrepresent the Actions of Men, either in a publick or private Station, for vile, wicked and unjust Purposes. Whatever therefore is written without any *such Design* and for no *such Purpose*, is not a *Libel*. But Men, whose Characters are open to *Censure*, call every thing, of a *satirical* Nature, a *Libel*; and for this Reason, perhaps, the *Journalist* might act politically enough in jumbling them together.

As odd as such Reasoning may seem to Him, the *Dread of Infamy* hath certainly been of great Use to the Cause of Virtue; and is a stronger Curb upon the Passions and Appetites of some Men, than any other Consideration, *moral* or *religious*. Whenever, therefore, the Talent of *Satire* is made Use of to restrain Men, by the *Fear of Shame*, from immoral Actions, which either do or do not fall under the Cognizance of the *Law*, it is properly and justly and commendably applied. On the contrary, to condemn all *Satire*, as *this Author* does, is in Effect the same Thing as countenancing *Vice*, by screening it from Reproach and the just Indignation of Mankind.

But, says the *Journalist*, *Satire* and *Libelling* have been practised from the Beginning of Letters in every Nation; yet I would be glad to know what Vices They do really prevent. For my Part, I believe They prevent a great many, for the Reasons before-mentioned; but, supposing it to be otherwise, might it not be as reasonably objected, that *Preaching*, *spiritual Admonition* and *Discipline* have been practised as long as *Satire*, and to as little Effect? Yet ought the Inefficacy of either to be made an Argument against the good Intention of them? Or, is it not more than probable that,

as little as the World seems to be reformed, it would be even much worse than it is at present, were such wholesome Methods of Correction to be discontinued?

It is farther objected, that though *Vice* ought not to escape with *Impunity*, yet *Infamy*, as well as *Pain* and *Death*, being the Instrument of the State, only the Voice of the Magistrate ought to direct it. To which I answer, that there is a particular kind of *Infamy*, which is properly the Instrument of the State; but to infer from thence, that no private Subject ought to expose *Vice* in his Writings, because it is inflicting *Infamy*, and therefore an Incroachment on the Office of the Magistrate, is a very extraordinary Method of Reasoning. He goes on. *Shall a Man take upon himself to punish Robbery and Murther, through an idle Fear that the Magistrate may neglect doing it?* No certainly; but, I hope any Man may be allowed to write against those Crimes, and be as satirical as he pleases upon the Character of a notorious Murtherer or Robber, without the Imputation of abridging the Sovereign Power of its just Rights. This curious Vein of Reasoning is back'd with an Application from Scripture, full as just and as much to the Purpose. It is conceived in the following Words. *Infamy then being a State-Punishment; if any, without lawful Authority, pretends to apply it; may He not be answered by the Injured in the Words of the People to Moses; Who hath made you a Prince and a Judge over us?* Which, to my Apprehension, seems to be a Question, instead of an Answer; but it unfortunately happens that This was a ridiculous and impertinent Question; since the *Israelites* knew very well that *Moses* was appointed their Prince and their Judge by no less a Power than God Almighty Himself; the same God, who hath blessed us with a Constitution, of which the Liberty of writing and exposing *Vice* is a fundamental Part.

He is indeed so good as to acknowledge, that private Persons have the same Right over Those, who deserve

serve Infamy, as over a Thief or a Robber; that is, they may solicit the legal Power to punish them; but This must be done in a formal and regular Manner; which still relates to judicial Infamy, and therefore hath nothing to do in the Argument before us. He then asks the following wise Questions. But who are our Libellers? Is not their first Care always to conceal their Names, their Professions, and Places of Abode? As to the first, I really do not know how to answer him; being apprehensive that, in order to give Him Satisfaction, I should be obliged to name some of the worthiest Men, the truest Englishmen, and the sincerest Friends to the present Government; but if I were to be ask'd, Who our Flatterers, Sycophants, Screeners and Time-servers are; the Answer would be easy. As to the second, I am of the same Opinion with Bishop Hoadley, and cannot understand how the Cause of Truth can receive any Advantage from a Man's prefixing his Name, or Profession, or Place of Abode to his Writings; which can only serve to prejudice the Reader on one side of the Argument, according as He likes or dislikes the Person of the Author.—Vide his Reply to Doctor Atterbury.

But mark! He proceeds—*And then what are their Proofs? Suspensions, Hearsays, Coffee-house Tales, Tittle-Tattle, and idle Stories; which is all such gratis dictum and meer begging of the Question, that I chuse to refer this Point to the Judgment and Decision of the Publick.*

To sum up this Part of the Argument. If general Reflections upon *Vice, Ambition and Corruption*, under *fictitious or real Characters* of dead Men, universally allowed to be guilty of those Crimes; or under *Allegories, Parallels, Fables and Dreams*, ought to be accounted *Libels*; I will undertake to prove the same Charge, not only against the finest *Satirists*, the wisest *Mythologists*, the chastest *Poets*, the most celebrated *Moralists*,

ralists, and the *gravest Divines*; but even against the *inspired Writers* Themselves.

Thus far by way of *Introduction* to this notable Discourse; but now we come to the Marrow of the whole ——— *Hear him then.*

But, of late, People have found another Use for Libels; to lash great Offenders, who are above the publick Justice; that is, the natural Malignity of some Men's Tempers represents it as an Offence in others to be GREAT. This Use for Libels is, it seems, lately found out; but (not to trouble our selves whether the Invention be of *ancient* or *modern* Date) I think it a very good Invention; for if any Offenders grow so great as to be *above the publick Justice*, I can see no Reason why They ought not to be severely *lashed in Satire*; since That is the *only Punishment*, which the Publick can inflict upon them. Yet This, it seems, can proceed from nothing but the *Malignity* of some Men's Tempers, which represents it as an Offence in others to be great; though the Question is not, whether They are great, but whether They are great Offenders; in which Case, I presume, a Man may lash them, without any Imputation of a *malignant Temper*——But hear the *Journalist* again. If a Man really adds Wickedness to his Greatness, no Reason can be given, nor none (observe the Language) ought to be supposed, for not accusing Him, instead of libelling Him. But how can He be *accused*, to any Purpose, though He is never so guilty, if He is *above the publick Justice*? Besides, exposing his Iniquities to *publick View* is, perhaps, one of the surest Methods of reducing him to *publick Justice*. This is another Use of *Satire* or *Libel*, if they must be the same, which hath been, long ago, found out. It was, in particular, of great Service to the *Patriot-Whigs* in the Reigns of King Charles and King James the second, as well as in That of Queen Anne. They asserted the *Freedom of writing* against *wicked Ministers*; and though they knew it
would

would signify nothing to *accuse them publickly*, whilst they were in the *Zenith* of their Power, they made use of *Satire* to prepare the Way and alarm the People against their Designs. How will the *Journalist* be able to justify all the *political Tracts* of those Times; and particularly the Writings of Mr. *Johnson*, upon any other Principle? His *Letter to the Army upon Hounslow Heath*, with a design to spirit them up to a *Revolt*, was certainly a *Libel*, in the strongest Sense, according to *modern Interpretation*; and yet it is well known that the same Parliament, which fix'd our glorious Deliverer King *William* upon the Throne, reversed the severe Judgment given against him for *this Pamphlet*; which They voted of such *publick Service*, that the Nation enjoyed the Benefit of it to that Day; at the same Time addressing the King, *Nemine Contradicente*, to promote him for it. But let us hear the *Journalist* again. *If a great Man be lawful Game, He ought to be fairly chased, not shot from a Covert. He ought to be cut up by the Huntsmen, not mangled by the Hounds.* But supposing a great Man, which hath been the Case of many Nations, to be a terrible, wild Beast of Prey; who, besides his own Strength and Fierceness, hath got the Advantage of such an Eminence that we cannot dislodge or chase him fairly; what is to be done? Must we stand still and see Him continue his Depredations, though we have it in our Power to gall Him from a Covert? As to the next Conceit, if it be allowed that He ought to be *destroy'd*, I think there is but little Difference between his being cut up by the Huntsmen and mangled by the Hounds. Indeed, it is judged more Sportsman-like for the Huntsmen to cut Him up; but we know that some Huntsmen will stop their Dogs, when they are at full Cry against an old, overgrown Fox, and save Him for their own Interest, that is, their Diversion, from the Rage of the Hounds, without having any Regard to the Ha-

vock,

vock, which He daily makes amongst their poor Tenants and industrious Neighbours.

I am really ashamed to pursue this coarse, butcherly Allusion any farther; but as the *Journalist* seems to be highly delighted with it, and to have some great, *hunting Minister* in View; I beg the Reader's Patience for one more Quotation of the same Kind. *But it is what may be depended on as an eternal Truth, that those Men, who have Recourse to obscure Inveective, are such as want Courage to bring an open Charge; as among Beasts, none ever bite or pinch their Adversaries with their Teeth, but such as are destitute of Horns, fairly to attack and annoy them.*

As to the first Part, I have already observed, in several Papers, as well as in This, that a Nation may be so unhappily *circumstanced* that an open Charge, though never so clear or strongly proved, would have no other Effects than the Security of an Offender against any future *Accusation*, when those *Circumstances* are alter'd; and therefore it is needless to say any thing more upon it in this Place.

But as the *Journalist* seems to have introduced this Remark for the Sake of a *quaint Similitude*, which I doubt not he thinks very smart, it would be unpardonable and even barbarous in me to pass it by in Silence; though I am afraid it will not, upon Examination, redound so much to his Honour as He may apprehend; for Providence hath given to every Creature some particular Weapons of Offence and Defence against its Adversaries; to some *Claws* or *Talons*; to some *Teeth*, *Wings* and *Legs*; and *Horns* to others; so that I cannot conceive how *one Method of Attack* or *one Kind of Weapons* can be more honourable than *another equally natural*. But (to answer this *acute Gentleman* in his own Way) if meer poking and goring with a *Pair of Horns* is the fairest Way of annoying an Enemy, my Lord Peter's *BULLS* are certainly the noblest *Beasts* of all the Creation.

After

After This follows a great deal of general, pathetic Stuff on the Value of a *good Name*; the *Honour of Families*; and the Iniquity of endeavouring to destroy them; which no Man in his Senses will offer to contradict. But the Question between us is, whether a *wicked Man* ought to be suffer'd to keep Possession of an *undeserved Reputation*, to the Danger of a whole Kingdom; or whether it is not lawful and commendable to strip him of his *false Colours*, and shew Him in a *proper Light* to the World; for as *Virtue* is too often its *own Reward*, so *Vice* ought to be its *own Punishment*, by being always attended with *Infamy*; not such a *formal, judicial Infamy* as this Writer contends for; but the general, unimposed Abhorrence and Detestation of Mankind.

Indeed, if *Men of Genius* (*says He*) were always *Men of Virtue*, we might venture to trust them with such a *Power*. To which I answer, that if *Ministers* were always *Men of Integrity*, we might venture to trust them with the *Direction of the Press*; and there would be no Occasion to plead against the *Restraint* of it. But as they have *Vices like their Fellows*, so it very often happens that the best-intended and most valuable Writings are the *Objects of their Relentment*, because *opposite to their own Tempers or Designs*.

We now come to his *prophane Learning*; which I am afraid will not prove sounder or more judiciously applied, than his *Authority from Scripture*.

He tells us, that *the old Greek Comedy took such Liberties with the Characters of Men*, that the State was obliged to *interpose*; and the State acted wisely in so doing; though we must suppose these *Liberties* to have been very *exorbitant*; because *Tacitus* justly observes, as appears from some of the *Greek Authors* now extant, that They were allowed *Liberty of Writing*, even to a Degree of *Licentiousness*. It is very probable that They exposed Persons by *Name* upon the Stage, in the most open, *undisguised Manner*. But

as

as those Times are very remote, and we have no particular Account of the *Freedom*s, which the Greek Poets took in their *Comedies*, let us examine the *Journalist's* other Instance, which is more recent and better known.

Augustus Cæsar, as Tacitus tells us, made all kinds of *Libels* High-Treason; not only such as were written against the State or the Imperial Family, but such as concerned the meanest Citizen.

Tacitus, indeed, doth tell us so; but He tells it with Indignation, as the worst Action of that Prince's whole Reign, and the Forerunner of all that horrid Tyranny, which followed in the next. *Augustus* was at first the most remarkable Instance of any Man in History for pardoning Offences of *this Nature*, and scorning to punish any *Libels*, which were written against Him; insomuch that when *Tiberius* applied to Him, as *Seneca* informs us, to restrain the Boldness, which was then used in detracting from his Actions, He wrote to Him in these Terms; *my Son Tiberius, flatter not in This either thy Youth or Choler, to suppose that there are any, who speak ill of me. It is enough that we can hinder them from doing ill to us.* It was also a common Saying with Him, *that the Spirits and Tongues of Men ought to be free in a free City*; and when the *Senate* offered to inform Him of somewhat of this kind, He told them, *We have no spare Time to trouble our selves with these Imbroilments; for if we once open this Door, WE SHALL DO NOTHING ELSE.*

But in the latter Part of his Life, being influenced by wicked Counsellors, and provoked by the foolish Licentiousness of one CASSIUS SEVERUS (who had personally abused Him and his whole Family in a most insolent *Libel*) He unjustly perverted the *Lex Majestatis* from its original Design, to the Punishment of Words and Writings; which had such a terrible Effect, that the Rashness and Folly of one Man was made the Occasion of depriving a brave People and all their Po-

sterity

sterity of their ancient Liberties, which had cost them so much Blood. The ingenious Mr. GORDON hath two whole Chapters upon this Subject, in the *Prolegomena* to his Translation of *Tacitus*, which are too long for me to transcribe at present; but they are well worth Observation, and I would particularly recommend them to the Perusal of this worthy *Journalist*.

To urge it therefore, by way of Argument for the *Restraint of the Press*, that *Augustus made all kinds of Libels High-Treason*, is just as much to the Purpose as if He should argue, for the same Reason, that King *Charles II.* cut off *Algernon Sydney's* Head, for a Book not published, by a monstrous stretch of Power; which was followed in the very next Reign, as it naturally tended, to an open, avowed Attempt to dispense with all our *Laws* and subvert all our *Liberties*.

In short, the only *Liberty of the Press*, which this Author seems to allow, is a Liberty to write *Praise, Flattery and Panegyrick*, with a *Restraint* on every thing, which happens to be offensive and disagreeable to Those, who are, at any Time, in Power; upon which I beg leave to quote one Observation of Mr. Gordon, from the *Discourses* before-mentioned. In Truth, says He, where no Liberty is allowed to speak of Governors, besides That of praising them, their Praises will be little believed; Their Tendernefs and Aversion to have their Conduct examined will be apt to prompt People to think their Conduct guilty or weak; to suspect their Management and Designs to be worse than, perhaps, they are; and to become turbulent and seditious, rather than be forced to be silent.

As the *Journalist* began this vile and wretched Attempt on the *Liberty of the Press* with the Authority of Mr. Bayle, whose Works would not have been allowed to be printed in any Country, where the utmost Freedom of Writing did not prevail; so He hath been equally happy and consistent in the Conclusion

sion of it; which is a Quotation against all Kinds of *Satire*, from a Discourse of Mr. *Vavasor*, a *French Jesuit*; who was peculiarly remarkable for being too *satirical* in his own Writings. How far the Authority of a *Popish Priest*, who wrote under the Eye, and, perhaps, the Influence of *Louis* the XIVth, in the *most absolute Part of his Reign*, may be thought to avail in a Dispute concerning the *Liberty of the Press*, I know not; but when we consider the Inference, which is drawn, without any Disguise, from this Quotation, it must be allowed that the JOURNALIST was very much obliged, at a dead Lift, to the Assistance of his Friend the JESUIT.

D.



N^o 118. SATURDAY, October 5. 1728.



Hough the following Letter is professedly designed as a Rebuke to myself, yet as it is written in a Gentleman-like Manner, with a great deal of good Sense, Spirit and Zeal for the present Government, I think myself obliged, as an impartial Writer, to make it publick; and declare farther, that whenever my Conduct may be thought blameable in any Particular, I shall be glad to have it pointed out to me in the same candid and ingenuous Manner.

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

Mr. D'ANVERS,

I AM an old Whig, without Place or Pension, and therefore independent. I look, with a jealous Eye, upon the least Appearance of any thing that seems to invade our Liberties. I love our Constitution and would preserve it; because my own Well-being and That of my Fellow-Subjects depends upon the Preservation of it. I am not fond of Ministers, merely as such; nor do I think they ought to be reviled and mal-treated, only because they are so. 'Tis mean, in my Opinion, to encourage them too much by Flattery; and as wrong to bear too hard upon them by Severity. My Ear is almost constantly beaten and wearied with your Animadversions upon publick Plunderers. I expect to find *Sejanus*, *Wolsey* or *Buckingham* in every Paper. You seem to take Delight in stripping these great Men of their Dignities and exposing them to publick View. In general, I cannot but approve and commend your Design; for, I own, I think it right frequently to remind Those, who are in high Stations, of the Danger of their Situation; and the most likely Way to keep them just and righteous in their Administration, is by affording them constant Occasions to remember that they are accountable, for all their Actions, both to their Prince and to the People. But, Mr. D'Anvers, as you profess yourself the Watchman of the Commonwealth, you ought not to fix your Eye always upon one Object. You should look around you, and, in every other View, take Care, *nequid Detrimenti Respublica caperet*. Ruin may break in upon us by other Means than from the immediate Consequences of irregular Passions in a corrupt and bold Minister; or from the Want of Abilities in one, who is enterprizing and weak. I think *Jacobitism*

bitism is a Subject now and then worth your Reflection; and though this Word was lately dying off apace, yet since *some Men* have industriously revived it, you should not, in my Opinion, totally neglect it. Be ready therefore, on all Occasions, to shew yourself a Champion for the present Government; and if any virulent, *Jacobite Libel* should dare to appear in publick, draw your Pen in Defence of the Constitution, and treat it in the Manner, in which it deserves to be treated.

I took the Resolution of writing to you in this Manner, upon reading lately, in the Country, a most infamous and traiterous Paper, published by one of your *Brother Journalists* and signed *Amos Dodge*. Though this *Libel* carries so many malevolent, false and unjust Reflections, that it shews rather the Despair of a few *exiled Rebels* and *desperate Vagabonds*, than the reasonable Hopes of any Body of Men, capable of hurting us or serving themselves; yet you ought to declare your Detestation of it and of every Thing of this Sort. Perhaps you may think (and honestly think) that as you have often and warmly declared your Attachment to our present, happy Settlement; to our Laws and our Liberties; it is not necessary for you to be always repeating it; but as you are sensible that you have some Enemies, who have been desirous of turning many Things, which you have said, into *Libels against the Government*; so lest you should have others, who might be willing to misconstrue even your *Silence*, or make it explanatory of your former Writings, I would have you exert yourself on this Occasion, and repeat your Professions of Loyalty, when Mr. *Amos Dodge* hath the Impudence to profess the contrary; nor let any Refinement from the *Injudiciousness of this Libel*, as if it was calculated to serve *some other Purpose* than what appears on the Face of it, (which, I own, seems probable enough) prevent you from doing This.

I think also, amongst the rest of your Cares for the Publick, it would be right in you to endeavour to expose and ridicule all *Jacobite* and Malecontent Stories and Rumours, of what Kind soever they are, which may with a malicious Intention be scattered amongst the People. Stifle them, if possible, in their Cradle; or, if they do appear and get abroad, suffer them not to breathe long amongst us. Those, who are beaten out of all other Hopes (which is the Case of the *Jacobites*, at present) naturally indulge themselves in the cordial, though short-liv'd, Comforts, which they receive from idle and scandalous Tales.

The Enemies of the Government have lately had the Assurance to give out many of this sort amongst us in the Country; one of which is (and a very remarkable one it is) that they have it from good Hands that a large Sum of Money will be asked, in the next Session, towards defraying the Charges of the *Coronation*. Neither you nor I, Mr. *D'Anvers*, can take upon ourselves to say that This is absolutely false; nor indeed doth it become any one to pretend to foretel what may or may not happen in Parliament; but thus far, I think, one may venture to affirm; that this Report hath as much the Appearance of *Jacobitism* in it, as any that ever yet came out of that Mint. The true Test, by which to try any such Rumour, is in my Mind This. I would consider whether the Report, when it meets with Credit, is likely to prejudice the Government, and raise Discontents or not. If it is, then I say, 'tis ten to one that it hath no other Foundation than That of *Jacobitism*; because no Government can be so weak as to be desirous of doing That, which they know will raise a general Clamour, and hurt them with the People. On the other hand, the *Jacobites* are fully apprized, that there is nothing so likely to alienate the Affections of the People as *new* and *unnecessary Taxes*. The only View therefore of this malicious Rumour is to endeavour,

as far as they are able, to convert that Blessing, which the People thought (and no doubt had the justest Reason to esteem) the greatest Subject for Joy and Transport, into an Occasion for Murmurs and Discontent. I know they pretend to alledge, that something of this Kind was done for our late Sovereign; but I dare say That would not be made a Precedent, if the Thing were really intended to be done; for That, to the best of my Remembrance, was no more than This. The Parliament thought fit to give a Sum of Money, then remaining in the Exchequer, on the *Queen's civil List*, to his late Majesty (perhaps it might be for the Charges of the *Coronation*) but it was not properly *publick Money*, but Money that should have answered the *Queen's Debts*; and whatever Overplus there was after That, the King was justly to inherit. It is therefore very plain that this Report is an absurd and senseless Invention, created only to throw abroad disingenuous and low Aspersions, which every one must see can take their Rise only from People, who have no Regard for the Honour and Dignity of the Crown; as if it were unable or unwilling, notwithstanding the present large *civil List*, to support the Expences of its *own Inauguration*. The Money, which the Subjects, of almost every Rank, gave, some to see and some to make a Part of that glorious Solemnity (a Sight, which filled all Eyes and Hearts with Joy and Gladness) had it been collected, would doubly have paid the whole Charge of the Ceremony. To imagine therefore that it can possibly be intended or desired that the *Crown* alone should have its Expences borne, and that this Charge should, as it were, be a second time defrayed by the *People*, is a mean and poor Artifice, invented only to raise Discontent.

Another invidious and mean Reflection, which the *Jacobites* make, is formed on what They hope will administer the greatest Cause for popular Uneasiness. I mean that *Prince FREDERICK* is not yet sent for, nor
created

created *Prince of Wales*, This is what they wish the least, of any People in *England*, to see remedied; and yet, as it serves a present Purpose, They describe the remarkable Virtues of that most illustrious *young Prince*. They pretend to be surprized, that He is not sent for to adorn his Father's Court; to converse with our Nobles; to become acquainted with our Laws, our Customs, and our Manners; in short, to be weaned from the Society of *Foreigners*; that the Law touching the *Post-nati* may not create in *Englishmen* any unreasonable Prejudices against Him. Nay, They go farther, and affect to talk in the Patriot Strain; that the Nation hath a right to demand him; that the Children of our Kings are the Children of the Commonwealth; and many more plausible Reasons of this Kind do They produce, without giving Themselves leave, or being willing that other People should consider, that it is our Duty to await the proper Time; and That only is the proper Time, which shall be thought so by *Those*, who are nearest concerned. We may be assured, therefore, that there are many substantial Reasons, perfectly agreeable to and consistent with the publick Welfare and Safety, which at present deprive all good Subjects of the Happiness of seeing the *Heir apparent to the Crown*; a Prince, who gives Pleasure and Admiration wherever He appears. But if any one pretends to assert This, and seems to express any Hopes of seeing his *Royal Highness* amongst us; They sneer, shake their Heads and cry; *Ay, when you make a larger Allowance to the civil List. What, say They, do you think the present civil List can support an additional Expence, without an additional Supply? You must yet give more Money, before you see your Heir apparent*; insinuating, that the Crown (which, at all Events, must have Two Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year more than the *late King* had for Himself; and at least Two Hundred and Sixty Thousand more than the *late Queen* actually received; and pos-

sibly the Funds may produce much more) still expects an Increase of its Revenue, for the Support of the Royal Family. But These are such vile Artifices and such base Suggestions, that I hope They will never impose on sensible Men, nor affect the Minds of the honest Part of the Kingdom; for I make no doubt that, in a very little Time, it will be thought proper to send for his *Royal Highness*; and that the People will enjoy the Blessing, without feeling any Burthen from his Presence amongst us.

Another Method, which the *Jacobites* make use of to revile the Government is by talking, on all Occasions, too contemptuously of our *Ministers*; especially by ridiculing all our *foreign Negotiations*. I doubt there may be some Transactions, which may furnish them with too good an Handle for Mirth. A TRUCE (which I profess to you I cannot mightily relish; and which, perhaps, is not so much as thought of by our *Ministers*) is the present great Topick of Ridicule amongst them. *What, say They, have we, for seven Years past, had a Peace without a Cessation, and must we now try a Cessation without a Peace? At this Rate, the Army will be finely reduced, and our Taxes will be mightily abated. Well! we are in a hopeful Situation, in Truth, after all our Glory. They must have been excellent Politicians, who have brought us to this pass! Why, we seem not to have Spirit enough to work up a War, nor Interest enough to patch up a Peace.*

These are the Insinuations, These are the Methods, with which such *Incendiaries* hope to raise a Spirit, and animate the People against the *present Ministry*; and in this Manner are They continually finding Fault with every Thing that is done.

Now as I look upon you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to be a very good *Whig*, with honest Principles (whatever particular Dislike you may have to some Measures) the Way I would have you take to render all these Attempts vain and fruitless, and to promote a general

Satis-

Satisfaction and good Will, is to let the People see their Happiness by Comparison with *other Countries*. We are bad enough, 'tis true; but still we are better than most of our Neighbours. Compare the Parliament of *Paris* with That of *England* and then—shew them the *Difference*. Desire them to observe the *conforming* and *appellant* Bishops, in *France*, tearing one another to Pieces, and rent asunder by *Schism*. Then let them confess *how good and how joyful a Thing it is to see ours dwelling together in UNITY; a venerable, learned, and pious Body; adorning the Church, and assisting the State with perfect Unanimity; all acting, I dare say, with one View; all moved by the same Principle.*

You see, Mr. D'Anvers, that I have ventured to reprehend you. If you take what I have written like a *sensible old Man* and a *Philosopher*, you will do well; and That will appear by your publishing this Letter, or the Substance of it, and improving the Hints, in what Manner you please.

C.

I am, SIR, &c.



N^o 119. SATURDAY, October 12, 1728.



Shall now proceed to confirm what I have said in several Papers, particularly in That of *Saturday* the 21st of last Month, concerning the *Liberty of the Press*, by the Authority of an excellent Pamphlet, entitled, *a Letter to a Member of Parliament, shewing that a Restraint on the Press is inconsistent with the Protestant Religion, and dangerous to the Liberties of the Nation.* This Pamphlet was published in the Reign of King William, when

when a Project was on Foot for *regulating the Press*, and may be seen in the *State-Tracts* of that Reign.

This is an *Authority of Arguments*, and not of *Names*; the only Authority, which ought to be admitted in Disputes of this Nature; and which I may very safely defy my Adversaries to produce on *their Side of the Question*.

The Author, having shewn the Advantage and Necessity of this Liberty to the *Protestant Religion*, proceeds in the following Manner.

“ But I shall say no more on this Point; having
 “ already sufficiently shewed how destructive the *re-*
 “ *straining the Press* is to *Religion*; which it cannot
 “ be, without being in general prejudicial to *civil So-*
 “ *cieties*, for whose Good it was instituted; but e-
 “ specially, when it is perverted on purpose to enslave
 “ them; and there never was a Nation, which lost
 “ their *religious Rights*, that could long maintain
 “ their *civil ones*; for *Priestcraft* and *Slavery* go Hand
 “ in Hand. Therefore I shall be the shorter in what
 “ I have to say on a *civil* Account; especially confi-
 “ dering that most of those Reasons, that shew how
 “ destructive a *Restraint of the Press* is to *religious*,
 “ will equally prove it to be so in *civil Affairs*.

16. “ The greatest Enjoyment, that rational and
 “ sociable Creatures are capable of, is to employ their
 “ Thoughts on what Subject they please, and to
 “ communicate them to one another as *freely* as they
 “ think them; and herein consists the Dignity and
 “ Freedom of human Nature; without which no
 “ *other Liberty* can be secure. For what is it that
 “ enables a few Tyrants to keep almost all Mankind
 “ in Slavery, but their narrow and wrong Notions of
 “ Government, which is owing to the Discourage-
 “ ment they lie under of mutually communicating,
 “ and consequently of employing their Thoughts on
 “ *political Matters*; which did they do, it is im-
 “ possible that the Bulk of Mankind should have suf-
 “ fered

“fered themselves to be enslaved from Generation to
 “Generation. But the Arts of State, in most Coun-
 “tries, being to enslave the People, or to keep them
 “in Slavery, it became a Crime to talk, much more
 “to write about *political Matters*; and ever since
 “*Printing* has been invented, there have been, in
 “most Places, *State-Licensers*, to hinder Men from
 “freely writing about Government; for which there
 “can be no other Reason, but to prevent the *De-*
 “*fects* of either the *Government*, or the *Management*
 “of it, from being discovered and amended.

17. “*Fame, Reputation, and Honour*, as they are
 “the greatest Incentives to all good and virtuous Ac-
 “tions, so they as much *terrify* Men from committing
 “base and unworthy ones; and it cannot be reason-
 “ably presumed, considering the general Corruption
 “of Mankind, but that the *Rich and Powerful* would
 “frequently oppress those beneath them, were they
 “not afraid of *losing their Reputation*, and exposing
 “themselves either to the *Contempt* or *Hatred* of the
 “People; for this *Law of Reputation* (if I may so
 “call it) influences Men more than all *other Laws*
 “whatsoever. But if there was a *Licenser of the Press*,
 “he might be prevailed on not only to hinder the
 “Injured from appealing to the People, by publishing
 “their *Grievances*, but to license such Stories only as
 “*mercenary Scribblers* would write to justify the *Op-*
 “*pressors*, and to condemn the *Oppress*; which, as it
 “would be the greatest Encouragement for those
 “Men, that are *above the ordinary Remedies of Law*,
 “to crush whom they please; so it would be the
 “highest Injustice to deny the Injured the last Satis-
 “faction of justifying their Innocence to the World,
 “which would be sure to pass a just Censure on the
 “*Oppressors*; and This they would the more dread,
 “because, if once they *lose their Credit with the* PE-
 “PLE, they will be very *unfit Instruments for a COURT*
 “to use. Therefore it is no Wonder, if all that
 “make

“ make an *ill Use of their Power*, especially Those,
 “ who have *cheated the Government*, as well as *abused*
 “ *the People*, do endeavour with all their Might to
 “ have the *Press regulated*; lest their Crimes, being
 “ exposed in Print, may not only render them odious
 “ to the *People*, but to the *Government*. In a Word, all
 “ Sorts of Men, whose Interest it is not to have their
 “ Actions exposed to the Publick (which I am afraid
 “ are no small Number) will be for *restraining the*
 “ *Press*; and perhaps will add Iniquity to Iniquity,
 “ by pretending they do it out of Conscience, to sup-
 “ press *Immorality and Prophaneness*.

18. “ But This is not the worst that may happen ;
 “ because the *Press* may be so managed, as to be-
 “ come a powerful Engine to overturn and subvert
 “ the very Constitution; for should a *Magistrate* arise
 “ with *arbitrary Designs* in his Head, no Papers, that
 “ plead the Rights and Privileges of the People,
 “ would be stamp'd with an *Imprimatur*. Then the
 “ *Press* would be employed only to extend the *Prero-*
 “ *gative* beyond all Bounds, and to extol the *Promo-*
 “ *ters of arbitrary Power* as the chief Patriots of their
 “ Country; and to expose and traduce Those that
 “ were really so; which would not only be the greatest
 “ Discouragement to all brave and virtuous Actions;
 “ but be apt to make the People mistake their *Friends*,
 “ when they had not the Liberty to publish a Vin-
 “ dication of their Principles or Actions, for their E-
 “ *nemies*. In a Word, if the *Pulpits* and *Westminster-*
 “ *Hall* (as we have lately seen it) should chime in
 “ with an arbitrary Court, what can warn the Peo-
 “ ple of their Danger, except the *Press*? But if That
 “ too be wholly against them, they may easily be so
 “ blinded as not to see the Chains that are preparing
 “ for them, till they are fetter'd beyond all Power of
 “ Redemption; for there can never be wanting a
 “ thousand *plausible Stories*, and seeming *fair Pre-*
 “ *tences*, to amuse and divert them from perceiving
 “ their

“ their real Danger. And if we look into the History
“ of *Europe*, we shall find more Nations *wheedled* than
“ *forced* out of their Liberty; tho’ *Force* afterwards
“ was necessary to maintain what was got at first by
“ *Fraud*.

19. “ ’Tis so far from being impossible that a Peo-
“ ple may be thus imposed on, to their utter Ruin,
“ that it is probable another Generation, seeing no-
“ thing but the *royal Prerogative* highly magnified,
“ may be bred up with the Opinion of being *born*
“ *Slaves*. And were we not almost brought to that
“ Pass in the late Reigns, when nothing came out
“ with *Allowance*, but what was to justify such Opi-
“ nions? And if some good Men, especially about
“ the Time of the *Revolution*, had not had the Cou-
“ rage privately to print some Treatises (not to men-
“ tion the Prince of Orange’s *third Declaration*) to
“ undeceive the People, and to make them see the
“ fatal Consequences of those Doctrines, which, by
“ the *Restraint of the Press*, passed for divine and sa-
“ cred Truths, the Nation had tamely submitted to
“ the Yoke. And as it cannot be denied that those
“ Papers in a great Measure open’d our Eyes, so it
“ may justly be hoped that *none*, who saw the mi-
“ serable Condition that the *Act for regulating the*
“ *Press* would have brought us into, will be instru-
“ mental in re-establishing the *Law*. No, *those Men*
“ *sure*, who so much exclaimed against it in the *late*
“ *Reigns*, will take all Care imaginable to prevent it
“ now. But if *these very Men*, who may justly be
“ said to be *written into their Places*, and owe their
“ *Preferments to the Freedom of examining those sla-*
“ *vish Doctrines of the former Reigns*; if these Men,
“ I say, can so far forget themselves as to be for a
“ *Law*, which till themselves were uppermost they
“ thought tended only to enslave us, there cannot be,
“ I think, a greater Argument for all others to op-
“ pose it. We are, God be thanked, blest with the
“ Govern-

“ Government of the *best of Kings*; who as he ha-
 “ zarded every Thing to rescue our Liberties when
 “ in the extremest Danger, so he places the Glory of
 “ his Reign in preserving them intire, and transmit-
 “ ting them so to Posterity. And therefore none,
 “ that love his Glory, can be for *restraining the Press*;
 “ which as it can serve no other End than to create
 “ *Jealousies* in the People, who cannot forget what
 “ former Reigns designed by it, so it may hereafter
 “ hazard all our Liberties. *Under a good King we*
 “ *may justly expect such Laws, as will not expose us to,*
 “ *but secure us from the Oppressions of an ill one.* The
 “ best Things, when perverted, become the very
 “ worst; as Religion itself, when it degenerates into
 “ Superstition; so *Printing*, which in itself is no
 “ small Advantage to Mankind, when it is abused,
 “ may be of most fatal Consequence. Secure but the
 “ *Liberty of the Press*, and That will, in all Probabi-
 “ lity, secure *all other Liberty*; but if That once falls
 “ into the Hands of *ill designing Men*, nothing that
 “ we hold dear or precious is safe. And Experience
 “ manifests, that wheresoever That of the *Press* is de-
 “ nied, there no other is preserved. Most Countries
 “ in *Europe* maintained their Freedom tolerably well,
 “ till the Invention of *Printing*; but when That was
 “ suffer’d to speak nothing but *Court Language*, Peo-
 “ ple were by Degrees gull’d and cheated out of their
 “ *Liberty*. Had not the late King tack’d *Popery* to
 “ *Slavery*, he might, with the greatest Ease imagi-
 “ nable, have enslaved us; and methinks the Danger
 “ we have so miraculously escaped, should fright us
 “ from ever enacting any of those Methods into a
 “ *Law*, which so much contributed to that Danger.

20. “ That which alone would engage me, were
 “ I a *Senator*, to oppose the *Restraint of the Press*, is,
 “ that a Parliament is to take Cognizance of all Sorts
 “ of Things, which some Men of Gentleman-like
 “ Education may not have much considered; and
 “ there-

“ therefore the perusing what *Those without Doors*,
 “ who have made such Things their Business, have
 “ writ, may be none of the worst Means of inform-
 “ ing themselves; but a *Restraint of the Press* may,
 “ in a great Measure, hinder them from receiving this
 “ Satisfaction; because *Licensers* might be prevailed
 “ on to suffer but *one Side* to publish their Sentiments,
 “ even in Matters of the greatest Consequence. I
 “ have met with some Members, who have frankly
 “ own’d that the incomparable *Argument against a*
 “ *STANDING ARMY* gave them great Insight into that
 “ grand Point; which, said they, had not the *Press*
 “ *been open*, would never have appeared, nor any
 “ Thing on *that Side*, but a Number of Pamphlets
 “ on the *other*, which, with the Noise of *self-interest-*
 “ *ed Persons*, would in all Probability have carried
 “ things quite otherwise; and since they could not
 “ foresee how frequently such Things might happen,
 “ This alone, said they, was enough to convince
 “ them of the Necessity of the *Liberty of the Press*; since
 “ they could not be too secure of that inestimable Jewel
 “ *Liberty*; which, if once lost, was scarce ever to be re-
 “ covered; especially if seized by a *domestick Power*.

21. “ I doubt not that there are several well-mean-
 “ ing Men for *regulating the Press*; who, did they
 “ consider how subject all Things are to change,
 “ could not but be apprehensive that this Engine of
 “ their own contriving might be turned upon them-
 “ selves, and made to ruin those very Designs they
 “ thought to promote by it; for the *Press* (as a witty
 “ Gentleman observes) is like a *Jackanapes*. He,
 “ who has him in his Hands, may make him bite
 “ whom he pleases; and therefore it is the safest
 “ way to keep their *Jackanapes in their own Hands*;
 “ and it cannot but shew a great deal of Hardiness
 “ to make such a *Law*, as may produce very fatal
 “ Consequences, even to the Makers themselves,
 “ who will then deserve no Pity; since they are
 VOL. III. Y “ scourged

“ scourged with Rods of their own providing; and
 “ it is the more probable This may happen so hereaf-
 “ ter, since even at present such a *Law* has but an
 “ untoward Aspect upon *most Parties*; for *one Party*,
 “ though he is pleased with it in *religious*, yet dislikes
 “ it in *civil Matters*. *Another* thinks the Contrary to
 “ be his Interest. *A third* is satisfied with having such
 “ or such *Señts* restrained from Printing, but would
 “ be glad that *others* had that Liberty. *A fourth*, who
 “ cares not how all the *Señtaries* are dealt with, is
 “ yet afraid, that if the *Press* be in the Hands of a
 “ *moderate Churchman*, none will be suffered to write
 “ any more *Letters to a Convocation Man*; or a *Muni-*
 “ *cipium Ecclesiasticum*; or such like Books. *A fifth* is
 “ afraid lest this Power should get into the Hands of
 “ the *rigid ones*; for then the others will be run down
 “ as *Trimmers*, *Latitudinarians*, and what not? The
 “ same may be said with respect to *other religious*
 “ *Opinions*; about which, Men of the same Church
 “ are divided; and the like may as well be observed
 “ in *civil Matters*; but I leave every one to make
 “ that Remark for himself; so, that if *all Parties* cast
 “ up their Account, there are very few of them but
 “ will find a *Restraint of the Press* to be against even
 “ their *present Interest*.

22. “ I might add a great Number of other Rea-
 “ sons; because as many Things as are worth know-
 “ ing, so many Arguments there are for the *Liberty of*
 “ *the Press*. What can be more useful than *History*,
 “ and the Knowledge of our Ancestors Actions? A
 “ faithful Account of which can scarce be expected
 “ in a Reign, that has a Design to disguise *Truth*,
 “ and to keep us in Ignorance of those noble and ge-
 “ nerous Notions our Ancestors had of *Liberty*, and
 “ how they asserted theirs upon all Occasions. As
 “ for what concerns the *present Time*, I shall only say,
 “ that for my own Part I should be glad, especially
 “ when at a Distance from *London* (and I suppose
 “ other

“ other *Country-Gentlemen* may be of the same
 “ Mind) to divert my self with some other News-
 “ Papers besides the *GAZETTE*; which would hardly
 “ be permitted, if the *Press* were regulated. As for
 “ Books of *Philosophy*, and of other Arts and Sciences,
 “ I can see no Reason why there should be any *Re-*
 “ *straint* on them; or why the *Licensing* them should
 “ be intrusted with the *Clergy*, as by the late Act,
 “ unless it be to hinder such Books from being prin-
 “ ted, as tend most to inform Mens Judgment, and
 “ make them reason clearly; Things very dangerous
 “ to a blind, implicit Obedience. Besides, an excel-
 “ lent Discovery in Nature may be hindred from be-
 “ ing published, on pretence that it is inconsistent
 “ with Religion; for the Time has been when asser-
 “ ting the *Antipodes* was no less than *Heresy*; and the
 “ *Motion of the Earth* a Crime worthy the *Inquisi-*
 “ *tion*; and with as little Reason (not to mention Dr.
 “ *Burnet*’s ingenious Tracts) has the most useful Book
 “ that was ever written in *Philosophy*, the *Essay of*
 “ *human Understanding*, been condemned, as incon-
 “ sistent with the Articles of the *Christian Religion*.
 “ As for *Physick*, tho’ the *Licensing* Books therein
 “ were wholly trusted with some of the *College*, the
 “ most useful Piece in that Science, either because the
 “ *Licensers* were engaged in another Method of Prac-
 “ tice, or because it may take from their Advantage,
 “ by prescribing a cheaper and easier Way of Cure,
 “ or out of Envy, or a thousand other Reasons,
 “ might be hindred from seeing the Light, to the
 “ great Detriment not only of the present, but fu-
 “ ture Ages. As to *Law*, I shall only say, if there
 “ are any *Abuses* crept into it, the likeliest Way to
 “ have them reformed, is not by *restraining the Press*.
 23. “ Were *Licensers* unbiafs’d, uncorrupt, and in-
 “ fallible, there might be good Reason to trust them
 “ with an *arbitrary Power* to pass what Sentences
 “ they pleased on Books; but if we are to judge of

“ the *future* by the *past*, they are almost as likely to
 “ be one as the other. Men of *Sense*, (and others
 “ ought not to be trusted with it) without being re-
 “ solved to make the most of it, will not care to be
 “ condemn’d to the Drudgery of reading all the Trash
 “ that comes to be printed. Nothing but *Necessity*
 “ will make such Persons submit to it; and that
 “ *Necessity* will make them less able to withstand
 “ *Temptation*; so that the appointing *Licensers* will
 “ be as bad as laying a *Tax* on Learning; since by
 “ delaying to look over Books, especially Those that
 “ require Haste to be printed, and by other Tricks
 “ (for there are *Mysteries* in all Trades) they may
 “ make People pay what they please for their *Al-*
 “ *lowance*.

24. “ But This is not the worst. It will be a great
 “ Hindrance to the promoting of *Knowledge* and *Truth*,
 “ by discouraging the ablest Men from Writing; for
 “ such Persons, especially after having once had the
 “ *Liberty* of publishing their own Thoughts, will not
 “ be content to have their Works lie at the Mercy
 “ of an *ignorant*, or at the best, of an *unleisured Li-*
 “ *censer*; who, upon a cursory View, may either
 “ condemn the *Whole* to perpetual Darkeness; or strike
 “ out *what he pleaseth*; perhaps the most *material*
 “ *Things*. And tho’ a *living Author* may subject him-
 “ self to This, yet none will be content that the La-
 “ bours of a *deceased Friend* should be so served; so
 “ that the Works of such a Person, tho’ ever so fa-
 “ mous in his Life-Time, shall be lost to all Poster-
 “ ity. Besides, is it not intolerable that every Time
 “ a Man has a Mind to make any *Alteration* or *Ad-*
 “ *dition*, between the *licensing* of the Copy and the
 “ *printing it off*, he must as often hunt after the same
 “ *Licenser* to obtain his Leave; for the *Printer* could
 “ not go beyond his *licens’d Copy*; when in the mean
 “ Time the *Press*, to his no small Damage, must
 “ *stand still*?

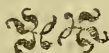
“ In

“ In short, tho’ there might seem to be some
“ Reason to condemn a Person, that, upon a fair
“ Trial, had been found guilty of writing *immoral*
“ *Things*, or *against the Government*, to the Punish-
“ ment of never Writing again but under the Autho-
“ rity of an *Examiner*; yet what Reason can there
“ be that Those, who never offended, nay that the
“ whole Commonwealth of Learning should be sub-
“ ject to so severe Usage; which too is the Way to
“ have none but *Fools* and *Blockheads* plague the
“ World with their Impertinence, and make an *Im-*
“ *primatur* (as it did formerly) signify no more than
“ that *such a Book is foolish enough to be printed.*

“ It is objected, that without *Licensers* any one
“ may reflect on whom he has a Mind to; so that
“ most People shall be sensible *whom* he means, tho’
“ he mentions but two Letters of his Name, or useth
“ some other *Description*, by which Means he is out
“ of the Reach of the Law.

“ This may be an Argument for the forbidding *all*
“ *Printing*, but none for appointing *Licensers*; for it
“ is much more reasonable for all to have the Liberty
“ to *vindicate* themselves the same Way they chance
“ to be aspersed, than to let the *Licenser’s Party* abuse
“ all others, and the *Press* not be open for them
“ to *justify themselves*. But if any one reflects upon
“ another after this Manner, let him make appear
“ *whom it is he means*; or else be esteemed in Law
“ to *intend that Person, that takes it to himself.*

D.





N^o 120. SATURDAY, October 19, 1728.

*Possideat quantum rapuit Nero; montibus aurum
Exaquet; nec amet quenquam, nec ametur ab ullo.*

JUVENAL.

WHEN I return in an Evening from the Coffee-house to my own Chambers in Gray's-Inn, as I regularly do about eight a Clock, after having put on my Night-Cap, and filled my Pipe, my usual Custom is to divert myself with an Hour's Reading before I go to Bed. I happen'd last Night to take up *Herodotus*, the Father of all Historians; and meeting there with a very remarkable, as well as a very entertaining Story, I will present it to the Publick in its full Length. My learned Readers will, I know, turn to it in the Greek, and my fair ones will, I hope, excuse me, if I do not take the Trouble of translating it my self, since it is extremely well done by Mr. Littlebury in the following Words.

“ *Rampsinitus* heap'd together a far greater Quantity of *Silver* than any of the succeeding Kings are said to have possess'd; and being desirous to secure his *Treasures*, built an Apartment of Stone, which had one Wall on the Outside of the Palace. The Architect made Use of this Situation to deceive the King; and placed one of the Stones in so loose a Manner, that a Man might easily take it out. Some Time after the Building was finished,

“ and

“ and the King had lodged his Riches in the Place,
 “ the Architect, lying on his Death-bed, called his
 “ two Sons, and acquainted them that he had contrived the King’s *Treasure* in such a Manner, that
 “ they might always furnish themselves with the
 “ Means of living plentifully; directing them to the
 “ Place, and explaining all the Particulars they were
 “ to observe, in taking out and putting in the Stone.
 “ In a Word, he told them, if they would follow his
 “ Instructions, they might be Treasurers of all the
 “ King’s Riches. The Sons waited not long after
 “ the Death of their Father, to put his Counsel in
 “ Execution, and went by Night to the Palace;
 “ where having found the Place, they removed the
 “ Stone without Difficulty, and carried off a great
 “ Quantity of *Silver*. *Rampsinitus* entering one Day
 “ into the *Treasury*, and seeing his Heaps much diminished, fell into a great Surprize; in regard he
 “ knew not whom to blame, having found all intire,
 “ and the Apartment, in Appearance, well secured.
 “ But after the King had two or three Times successively visited his *Treasures*, and always found
 “ them diminished, he ordered Nets to be made, and
 “ spread about the Vessels that contained his Money.
 “ The *Thieves* coming as before, one of them entered,
 “ and going to a Vessel filled with Silver, was
 “ presently taken in the Snare. Finding himself in
 “ this Extremity, he immediately called his *Brother*;
 “ and acquainting him with his Misfortune, desired
 “ him to come in, and cut off his Head, lest the
 “ whole Intrigue should be discovered, and neither of
 “ them escape with Life. The *Brother* comprehending the Reason of his Request, did as he desired;
 “ and having put the Stone in its proper Place, returned Home with the Head. Early in the Morning the King, coming to the *Treasury*, was not a
 “ little astonished to find the Body of the Thief taken
 “ in the Net without the Head, and the whole Edi-
 “ fice

“ fice entire, without the leaft Sign of any Perfon going out or coming in. In this Perplexity he went away, and commanded the Body to be hang’d on the Wall; appointing a Guard, with ftrict Orders if they fhould fee any one weeping at the Spectacle, or pitying the Perfon, to bring him immediately before the *King*. But no fooner was the Body thus expofed, than the Mother fell into a great Paflion, and commanded her furviving Son, by any Means he could contrive, to take down and bring away the Corpfe of his *Brother*; threatening, if he refufed, to go to the *King*, and let him know that he was the Thief, who had robbed the *Treafury*. The Son earneftly endeavoured to diffuade his Mother from her Purpofe; but finding nothing could prevail, he made ready his Affes, and having loaded them with Skins filled with Wine, and driven them near the Guards that were appointed to watch the dead Body, he opened two or three of the Skins, and when he faw the Wine running out, ftruck himfelf upon the Head, and cried out lamentably; as if his Confufion had been fo great, that he knew not to which of his Affes he fhould run firft. The Guards feeing fo much Wine loft, ran prefently to the Affes with Pots in their Hands to receive the Liquor, and make ufe of the prefent Opportunity; which the Man perceiving, feigned himfelf highly incensed, and railed bitterly againft the Soldiers. But they, on the contrary, giving him good Words, he grew calm again, and pretending to be pacified, led his Affes out of the Way, as if he defigned to fecure the reft of his Wine; till at laft falling into a Dialogue of Mirth and Raillery with the Guards, he gave one of the Skins among them. The Soldiers immediately fat down to drink, and taking him by the Hand, defired him to do as they did; which he accepting, and finding them fond of his Company, was fo liberal of his Wine, that

“ they

“ they made themselves drunk, and fell asleep in the
“ Place. By these Means he took down his *Brother*
“ in the dead of Night; and having, in Derision,
“ shaved all the Guard on the right Cheek, he laid
“ the Body upon one of his Asses, and brought it
“ home to his Mother, according to her Desire.
“ They added, that the King hearing the Body of the
“ *Thief* had been stolen, was much disturbed; and
“ resolving, by any Means, to find out the Contriver
“ of this Artifice, formed a Design, which to me
“ seems incredible; commanding his Daughter to
“ prostitute herself to all Comers indifferently, after
“ having first obliged every one in particular, to let
“ her know the most subtle and wicked Action of
“ his whole Life; and enjoining her, when any one
“ should discover himself guilty of the Fact relating to
“ the Thief, that she should lay Hands on him, and not
“ suffer him to escape. His Daughter obeyed; and the
“ Thief not ignorant to what End this Contrivance
“ tended, and desirous to elude the King's Design, cut
“ off an Arm from the Body of a Man newly expired,
“ and putting it under his Cloak, went to the Daugh-
“ ter of *Rampsinitus*. At his coming, when she ask'd
“ him the same Questions she had proposed to others,
“ he answered, that the most wicked Action he ever
“ did, was to cut off his Brother's Head in the Trea-
“ sury; and the most subtle, was the Artifice he contri-
“ ved to make the Guard drunk, and by those Means
“ to carry off the Body. No sooner had he said This,
“ than she offered to lay Hands on Him; but he, be-
“ ing favour'd by the Night, put the dead Hand in-
“ to hers; and while she thought she held him fast,
“ convey'd himself away, and run out of the House.
“ When the King was informed of this Event, he
“ was astonished at the Invention and Audaciousness
“ of the Man; and, a short Time after, caused Pro-
“ clamation to be made in all Places, that he would
“ not only pardon him, but reward him amply, if
“ he

“ he would discover himself. The *Thief*, in Confidence of this Promise, went directly to the Palace; and *Rampsinitus*, in Admiration of his Subtlety, gave him his Daughter in Marriage; accounting him the most knowing of all Men, because he knew more than the *Egyptians*, who are wiser than the rest of Mankind.”

Many obvious, natural and curious Observations may be made on this Story. In the first Place, I think it plainly demonstrates how vain and unprofitable a Thing it is for Kings ever to think of hoarding up vast Treasure; since it but too often happens that the very Person himself employed and intrusted by the King to preserve and secure it, contrives (as in this Case was done) some artful Means or other of becoming the Plunderer of it. An *Hole*, you see, in one *WAL*—— of the *Court*, that was to guard this Treasure, was of very great Convenience, as it helped the Person to creep in at it and rob the King, and then to creep out of it again to save Himself.

It is remarkable also that *another Exchequer* hath been robbed as well as ours; and That too in the earliest Days of the World, before one could have imagined that Iniquity should have got to such an Height.

The *Invention* and *Audaciousness* of this Person are of themselves truly surprizing; but when we find that, by these wicked Means, He became, as *Herodotus* expresses it, the *Treasurer* and *Dispenser* of all the King's Riches, it is Matter of the highest Astonishment.

It appears likewise that his constant Continuance of these wicked Practices was so far from detecting or disgracing Him, that it was, on the contrary, the great Cause of his Credit and Security. Had He left off after one or two successful Attempts; it is probable his great Riches, so suddenly and so unaccountably acquired, might have been the Means of discovering Him, and bringing Him to condign Punishment; but persevering

persevering in the same wicked Course, he found Means constantly to protect and establish Himself by some new Stratagem; for what increased his Wealth, always added to his Safety; and we find, after the Accomplishment of all his Iniquities, that by them and by them alone, He gets into the King's Favour, and being supereminently the worst Man in the Kingdom, He comes at last to be the greatest in it.

It is farther very observable that there were *two Brothers*; and we find them always aiding and assisting one another in every Device and Artifice for each other's Interest. They both, you perceive, got into the *Treasury*, and both of them, no doubt, grew immensely rich. I do not find that either of them, in any noble or honest Way, had any great Matter of Genius or Capacity in Him; but, like little Attorneys, they were crafty and dextrous, full of Subtleties and Tricks for promoting and carrying on any dirty Schemes of Thievery and Plundering.

At length, after many bold Pranks, *one* of them is caught in a Trap, that was laid for Him, and so entangled that he could not possibly escape. You see then *one* of these Brothers (the *worst* of the Two) making no Manner of Difficulty, nor having the least Scruple of cutting off his *Brother's Head* to save his *own*.

He was afterwards put upon a very difficult Task indeed; and This was at the Desire of a *Lady*, who threatened to discover all his Rogueries and undo him with the King, unless he would undertake it. He did undertake it, and overcame the Difficulty. The Way he did it, you see, was by loading a certain Parcel of *Asses*, leading them out of the Way, and giving the *Guardians* something to drink. But not content with *debauching* and *corrupting* them alone, without *exposing* them too, (a Practice, perhaps, frequent enough since those Days) he contrived, in Derision, when He had accomplished his Designs, to shave them

all on the right Cheek, on purpose to render them contemptible, and shew the King, as well as the World, what Kind of *Guardians* they were.

At last, when he was in Danger of having all found out, and being impeached, you see by what an artful Method he contrives to elude the Discovery. It was thought he was held fast, and that there was no Way possible for him to get off; when a certain MAN's Hand, which he had procured for the Purpose, helped Him to a wonderful Deliverance.

Many other Observations might, certainly, be made on this Story; but without Doubt they will arise of themselves to my Readers on the Perusal of it. Every one, I dare answer, is ready by this Time to join with me in their Admiration, as well as Detestation, of this wicked Person.

I find the same Story related in *Sympson's Chronicle*; but there the *two Brothers* are named and called *Agamedes* and *Tryphonius*. Whether *Tryphonius* be the same Person as *Herodotus* means, I cannot say; but it is remarkable, if He is, that He at length became the LYING ORACLE of *Greece*.

All I shall add farther, is, that *Rampsinitus* might be a very good King; but *Rampsinitus* had a very rapacious Minister.

C.



N^o 121. SATURDAY, *October 26*, 1728.*To* CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,



HE *Liberty of the Press* is now grown a very serious, and, as it is handled, a momentous Subject; in which I think every Individual is as much concerned, as he is in any other Part of Liberty; and therefore I, amongst others, take up Arms in Defence of it, and list myself under your conquering Banner; the weak Attempts of your Adversaries not deserving so much to be *answered*, as the Subject deserves to be *well established*.

There are two Sorts of Monarchies; an *absolute*, and a *limited* one. In the *first*, the *Liberty of the Press* can never be maintained. It is inconsistent with it; for what absolute Monarch would suffer any Subject to animadvert on his Actions, when it is in his Power to declare the Crime, and nominate the Punishment? This would make it very dangerous to exercise such a Liberty. Besides, the Object, against which those Pens must be directed, is their *Sovereign*, the *sole supreme Magistrate*; for there being no *Law* in those Monarchies but the *Will of the Prince*, it makes it necessary for his *Ministers* to consult his Pleasure before any Thing can be undertaken. He is therefore properly chargeable with the *Grievances* of his Subjects; and what the *Minister* there acts being in Obedience to his *Prince*, he ought not to incur the Hatred of the People; for it would be hard to impute That to *Him* for a Crime, which is the Fruit

of his *Allegiance*, and for refusing which He might incur the Penalties of *Treason*. Besides, in an *absolute Monarchy*, the *Will* of the Prince being the *Law*, a *Liberty of the Press* to complain of Grievances would be complaining against the *Law*, and the *Constitution*, to which they have submitted, or have been obliged to submit; and therefore, in one Sense, may be said to deserve Punishment. So that, under an *absolute Monarchy*, I say, such a *Liberty* is inconsistent with the *Constitution*; having no proper Subject in Politics, on which it might be exercised, and if exercised would incur a certain Penalty.

But in a *limited Monarchy*, as *England* is, our *Laws* are known, fixed and established. They are the straight Rule and sure Guide to direct the *King*, the *Ministers*, and all other his *Subjects*; and therefore an Offence against the *Laws* is such an Offence against the *Constitution*, as ought to receive a proper, adequate Punishment. The several Constituents of the *Government*, the *Ministry* and all *subordinate Magistrates*, having their *certain, known and limited Sphere*, in which they move; *one Part* may certainly err, misbehave and become criminal, without involving the *rest*, or any of them, in the Crime or Punishment.

But some of These may be *criminal*, yet *above Punishment*; which surely cannot be deny'd; since most Reigns have furnished us with too many Instances of powerful and wicked Ministers; some of whom by their *Power* have absolutely escaped *Punishment*; and the rest, who met their Fate, are likewise Instances of *this Power* as much to the Purpose. For it was manifest in them, that their *Power* had long protected them; their *Crimes* having often long preceded their *much desired and deserved Reward*.

That *Might overcomes Right*; or, which is the same thing, that *Might* preserves and defends Men from *Punishment*, is a Proverb established and confirmed by Time and Experience, the surest Discoverers of Truth
and

and Certainty. It is This therefore, which makes the *Liberty of the Press*, in a *limited Monarchy*, proper, convenient and necessary; or indeed it is rather incorporated and interwoven with our very Constitution; for if such an *overgrown Criminal* cannot immediately be come at by *ordinary Justice*, let him yet receive the *Laſt of Satire*. Let the glaring Truths of his *ill Administration*, if poſſible, awaken his *Conſcience*; and if he has no *Conſcience*, rouse his *Fear*, by ſhewing him his Deſerts; ſting him with the Dread of Punishment; cover him with Shame; and render his Actions odious to all honeſt Minds. Theſe Methods may, in Time, and by watching and expoſing his Actions, make him at leaſt more *cautious*, and perhaps at laſt bring down the *great, haughty and ſecure Criminal* within the Reach and Graip of ordinary Juſtice; at leaſt no other Method is more likely to effect it. This Advantage therefore of expoſing the Crimes of *wicked Miniſters*, under a *limited Monarchy*, makes the *Liberty of the Preſs* not only conſiſtent with, but a neceſſary Part of the Conſtitution itſelf.

It is indeed urged that the *Liberty of the Preſs ought to be reſtrained*, becauſe not only the Actions of *evil Miniſters* may be expoſed, but the Character of *good ones* traduced. Admit it, in the ſtrongeſt Light, that *Calumny* and *Lyes* ſhould prevail and blaſt the Character of a *great and good Miniſter*; yet That is a leſs Evil than the Advantages we reap from the *Liberty of the Preſs*; as it is a Curb, a Bridle, a Terror, a Shame, and Reſtraint to *evil Miniſters*; and it may be the *only Punishment*; eſpecially for a Time. But when did *Calumny* and *Lyes* ever deſtroy the Character of *one, good Miniſter*? Their benign Influences are known, taſted, and felt by every Body; or if their Characters have been clouded for a Time, yet they have generally ſhined forth in greater Luſtre. *Truth* will always prevail over *Falſhood*. The *Facts* expoſed are

not believed, because *said* or *published*; but it draws People's *Attention*, directs their *View*, and fixes the *Eye* in a proper Position, that every one may judge for himself whether those Facts are true or not. People will recollect, enquire and search, before they condemn; and therefore very few *good Ministers* can be hurt by *Falshood*, but many *wicked ones* by *seasonable Truth*; but however the Mischief, that a *Few* may possibly but improbably suffer by the *Freedom of the Press*, is not to be put in Competition with the Danger, which the King and the People may suffer by a shameful, cowardly Silence, under the Tyranny of a *rapacious, infamous Minister*.

Your Adversaries (those venal Supporters of *wicked Ministers*) are aware of the great Use of this *Liberty* in a *limited Monarchy*. They know how vain it would be to attack it openly; and therefore endeavour to puzzle the Case with Words, Inconsistencies, and Nonsense; but whatever they may think of themselves, if the Opinion of the most numerous, unprejudiced and impartial Part of Mankind is an Argument of *Truth*, you have That as well as *Reason* on your Side.

But have a Care, Mr. *D'Anvers*. There is a Corps in reserve against you, which threatens to destroy your whole Force, and gives out that it will be in vain for you to oppose or contend with them. How successful soever you have hitherto been, you must now lay down your Arms and fly for your Life; for *You and Mist* (says the *London Journal*, that formidable Writer) *do the very same Thing, and carry on the very same Cause*, and therefore deserve the same Fate. In short, you ought to be *hanged*, Mr. *Caleb*; for you write against *bad Ministers*; and writing against *bad Ministers*, say They, is writing against the *present Ministry*; and writing against the *Ministry* is writing against the *Government*; and writing against the *Government* is writing against the *King*; and writing
against

against the King is *High-Treason*. Thus are you condemned in a summary Manner; but let us see whether we cannot get you a Reprieve, by examining his Reasons.

He first begs the Question, and says, that *your whole Design of writing is to compare the King's Ministers to the most rapacious, cruel, tyrannical, and infamous Men that History can furnish you with, or your Imagination reach*; but how he draws the Comparison, and applies the Observations on the History of wicked Men in former Times, I think he ought to discover; and therefore I will wait for the Proof of it, and not believe it because He says it; for as He does not tell us what *Paper*, what *Transaction*, what *Calumny* you have publish'd, and would have applied to the present, excellent Ministry; I think he has failed in the Beginning, and *You and Mist* may not be so much alike.

He goes on. *Mr. D'Anvers wonders People are so perverse, that they won't understand his often repeated Distinctions between the Government and the Ministry. The Government, good Man! he has the highest Veneration for; but the Ministry he mortally hates.* This he says, is a *Church-Distinction*, and a *Distinction without a Difference*. By the Way, I never knew before, that a nonsensical *Distinction*, or a *Distinction without a Difference*, ought to bear the venerable Name of a *Church-Distinction*. I was in hopes that the Learning and Arguments of our *Bishops* and *Clergy* would, now at least, have protected that Order from such general Reproaches, the Language of *Unbelievers*; but, however, if it should come out, by examining him, that *Government* and *Ministry* are really different, then you remain in *statu quo*. You have not been guilty of a *Church Distinction*; and therefore ought not to be hanged for it. *You and Mr. Mist* are not carrying on the same Cause.

He defines Government into three Parts; by which, says He, *we always understand either the Laws of England; or the legislative Power; or the executive Power.* He is an able Definer; all the Parts are here enumerated; and therefore we will take it his own Way.

As to the first Part, *the Laws*, he acquits you himself; for, says he, *the Constitution or the Laws of England, our Author has not that I know of wrote against;* so you have handsomely got rid of the Sense of the Word *Government*, when understood of the *Laws or Constitution*, without a Blow. But I fancy Mr. *Mist*, had he been in the Lists, would not have come off so well; and if so, *You* are not then carrying on the very *same Cause*. This is manifest without a *Church-Distinction*. I congratulate you so far.

The next Distinction of Government is the *executive Power*. Take heed, Mr. *D'Anvers*, how you tread on this Ground; for he says, and truly, *the King is that Power; though he executes no Laws, but by his Ministers.* He therefore that traduces them; till it can be proved that they act against the *Laws or their Country's Interest*, traduces the King; so that here is a Possibility, according to his own Reasoning, for *Ministry and Government* not to signify the *same Thing*; for if the *Ministry* act against the *Laws or their Country's Interest*, traducing the *Ministry* is not traducing the King, the *executive Power* of the Government; which amounts to a Confession, that a *wicked Ministry* and the King, or *executive Power*, are different. Then traducing a *good Ministry* only is traducing the King; but I fear he will not be able to shew that a *good Ministry* is more a *Ministry* than a *wicked one*; or that they have not the *same Relation*, in the political Oeconomy, to the Prince; *both being chosen by him, and both execute the Laws*, though differently. But let us pass from his *Definition* to his *Distinction*.

He says, this *executive Power* may be considered in *Law*, in *Reason* and in *Action*; but he owns, according

ding to the *legal Distinction*, there is a *Difference* between the King and his *Ministry*; since He can do no Wrong, and They may. His Words are, *that the King can do no Wrong, is a legal Distinction, for the Honour and Safety of his Majesty's Person, on which so much depends; and for a TERROR to wicked Ministers; but in Reason and in Action there is no Difference between the King and his Council; the King and his Ministry.* So that, according to the *legal Distinction*, there is a *Difference*; but, are we not talking of the King in his *political, legal Capacity*, as the *executive Power of the Government*? And if he admits This, are not you acquitted, in *legal Understanding*, from attacking the Prince, when this Journalist would have it that you traduce the *Ministry*? But *legal Distinction* is a Trifle with him. In *Reason* there is *no Difference*; and why not in *Reason*? Can the King know what is doing but by his *Ministers*? Does he not see with their Eyes, hear with their Ears, and advise with them on every Emergence? And if those Organs of Sense are debauched, though it prove to the *King's Detriment*, is it to be laid to his Charge? May not many evil Things be done by a *Ministry*, which the King knows nothing of, and many Things left undone for want of proper Information; and is he to blame, is he to be more than Man, though the *best and wisest* of Men? Why then in *Reason* is there not a plain *Difference*? — But in *Action* they are the *same*. I do not know how far the Argument might succeed under an *absolute Monarchy*; but most certainly it cannot here; for the *Ministry are accountable for all their Actions*, which they could not be, if they were not something different from the King, or *executive Power*. If a Minister gives Advice, manifestly tending to the *Prejudice* of his Country, tho' it be not pursued, he is *punishable*. If he misbehaves, tho' the *King's Agent*, he is *punishable*. If a *Chancellor* should affix the Seal to an Instrument, tending to the manifest Injury of the
King

King or People, he is *punishable*, tho' he be *authorized* by the King for so doing; it being supposed that He is acquainted with his Duty, and ought to have informed the King better. Thus a *Minister* is not only to answer for his *Words* and *Actions*, but his *Thoughts* too; for his *Silence* may be a *Crime*. Thus then both in *Reason* and *Action* there is a *plain Difference*; and traducing the *Ministry* is not traducing the *executive Part of the Government*. Let us see lastly the *legislative Capacity*; which will be soon dispatched.

He says of you; *the Legislature he has notoriously abused, and published several Papers, in which, if he means any Thing, he would induce the People to believe that one Part of the Legislature gives Bribes, and the other takes them; and is This abusing the Government or the Ministry?* Thus has he proved, with one Dash, that you have abused the *Legislature*. He says it, and therefore it must be so. How very easy would it have been for him to have pointed out the *Paper* or *Paragraph*, that People might have judged of the *Picture* or *Likeness* as well as he; but how have you abused them? It seems you insinuate that *one Part of the Legislature gives Bribes, and the other takes them*. Downright Nonsense! *Part of a Legislature* which, in its Nature, is *one and entire*, does an Act that supposes *Secrecy*, as *Bribery* does; when all their Acts must be *open and publick*; and if *Bribery* be done *openly*, it is more properly a *Purchase*. But I suppose he meant, by *one Part of the Legislature*, some of the *constituent Members*; that some *one great, rich, powerful Man* gives Bribes to some other *poor, sordid, indigent ones*; for such they must be, who receive them; but till he produces the *Paper*, that we may judge, we will not take his Word for it. So I think you are fairly acquitted of abusing the *Government*, if the Author imagined you had meant the *Ministry*; and therefore Mr. D'Anvers and Mr. Mist are not doing the *same Thing*, or carrying on the *same Cause*; *quod erat probandum*. But

But certainly the Insinuation, which the *Journalist* would make, is as vile as it is false, and deserves publick Animadversion. I remember, indeed, that you have wrote of *Bribes*, in former Reigns, and the Consequences of them; but will he dare to apply it to the present, upright and uncorrupt Ministers? Can He or any Man in England believe that there is so much as one Member of the Legislature, who gives Bribes, or any who receive them? Suppose you say that, in such a Reign, Members of Parliament had *Pensions* to do as a great Man should direct; and that, at the End of a Session, they would come about him like *Jackdaws* for Cheese; would this *Journalist* pretend impudently to say that you meant the present Times? No; for if you were to ask him; Sir, do you think there is, at this time, any Bribery or Corruption in the Ministry, Members of Parliament, or in the Suffrages of the People? He would lay his Hand on his Heart, like an honest, modest, sincere Lover of Truth, and the Ministry, and say, NO VERILY.

If therefore Mr. *Mist*, or any other Person, hath abused the *Liberty of the Press*, by endeavouring to traduce his Majesty and subvert our present, happy Constitution; let him be punished with the utmost Severity, according to Law; (for I cannot be so complaisant to the Times, as to wish, even in his Case, or in any Case, however flagrant, to see the *Prerogative* stretch'd above the Law) but let not his Iniquity or Folly be made a Pretence to take away this valuable Liberty from all other Englishmen, who are not engaged in the same Cause, but have used their utmost Endeavours to demonstrate their Loyalty, and to avoid the least just Suspicion of any such Design.

Thus have I offered my Mite, towards supporting the *Liberty of the Press*, and convincing Mr. *Publicola* that every one does not think like him; that others, perhaps, may have as much Sincerity in their Zeal for the Government; and that You are not the Man he would

would have the World take you to be, any more than *He* is the Man, whom the World hath formerly taken Him to be; and that He may *write* against you, but cannot *answer* You.

R.

I am, S I R, Yours,

HODLYCOLA.

From my own Chambers.

THE Author of the *London Journal*, of the 5th Instant, is pleased to argue, with his usual Solidity, that the *Liberty of the Press* is not essential to a free Government, as I had asserted, because *Athens*, *Rome*, and other antient free States had no such Things as *Printing-Presses*; but if He will give Himself the Trouble of looking back to my *second Paper*, in which I began to treat upon this Subject, He will find these Words; *the Liberty of Speaking or publishing our Thoughts, which, since the Invention of Printing, hath been usually called the Liberty of the Press, &c.* and having explained myself in this Manner, at my first setting out, I little thought it would be expected that I should repeat my *Definitions* in every Paper, which the unhappy Necessity of the Times obliges me to write upon this Subject. Nay, so frivolous is this Objection of the *Journalist*, that in all my subsequent Discourses upon this Head (particularly in *That*, which He undertakes to answer) I have promiscuously used the Words *Liberty of the Press* and *Liberty of Writing* as synonymous Terms, which they certainly are. In short, by the *Liberty*, which I am contending for, I would be always understood to mean the *Liberty of publishing our Thoughts* in any Manner, whether by *Speaking, Writing or Printing*, which can make no Difference in the Case between us. His Argument therefore that *Athens, Rome* and other *free States* of Old had

had no *Printing-Presses*, is just as much to the Purpose as his late vile Misrepresentation of *Tacitus*, in the Instance of *Augustus*; or as if He should assert that *Athens*, *Rome*, and other brave States of Antiquity, knew nothing of *Fighting* or the *Art of War*, because they had no such Things as *Gun-Powder* and *Fire-Arms*.

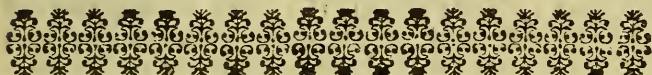
The same Author, in his Paper of the 12th Instant, after a very dull and senseless Address to the People of *England*, tells them that He begins to *grow warm*; that is, having nothing to say in the Way of Argument, He throws Himself into a *bloody Passion* and *calls Names*. He there gives us a new Touchstone, by which all political Writings ought to be tryed; and with his usual Accuracy tells us, that whatever is said against another is either *calumniating* or *accusing*. The latter he defines to be an *open, legal Charge*; to make out which, it is necessary to produce *Witnesses, Proofs, and Evidence*; and whatever Charge is not supported in this Manner, is *Calumny*. Yet having raved away almost two whole Columns in a great *Rage*; or, as He calls it, *Warmth*; after having endeavoured to terrify me with the *Lyon's Skin*, He comes to the Conclusion, and unluckily discovers the *Ass's Ears*; owns Himself guilty of the *same Crime*, of which He accuses me; and That not by *legal Accusation* neither.

For *Liberty*, says He, *I have drawn my Pen* against Men in Power; and for *Liberty* I now draw it for them. But if ever the Gentlemen, now, at the Helm, should grow *Enemies* to it, and act against their Country's Interest, I would with the highest Pleasure write against them. From hence it appears that this same Mr. *Publicola* is somebody, who hath formerly written against Men in Power, as He threatens to do again, even against the present Ministers, (for I think it a very plain Menace) if they should ever grow *Enemies* to *Liberty*, and act against their Country's Interest; that is, I presume, whenever He is pleased to think so, or finds it his Interest; for I hope he does not intend to stay till they plead guilty themselves, or have no Persons left to

justify their Proceedings; which I dare say was not the Case, when he *formerly wrote against Men in Power*. But why should He be so angry with *Those*, who may think it their Duty to do That *at present*, which He hath *formerly* done, and are now using their utmost Endeavours to support the *Liberty of the Press* for his Service, whenever he thinks fit to be *out of Humour again*? For if *that Liberty* should happen to be taken away, I am afraid He would find it very dangerous to exercise his Talent of Satire, as he *formerly* did. But since He hath *drawn his Pen against Men in Power*, I should be very glad to see *those Writings*, which carry sufficient *Witness, Proof, and Evidence* along with them, and amount even to a *legal Accusation*; that others may be able to follow his Example, as I promise to do, and write in the same laudable Manner; for as the *Gentlemen now at the Helm* will, I hope, never act *against their Country's Interest*; so this Author is unlikely to enjoy the *highest Pleasure*, which He proposes to Himself, of *writing against them*. But as *those Men*, whom He *formerly* wrote against, have at present *no Power* to hurt Him; as They are not *now at the Helm* (for his invincible Pen hath, no doubt, pulled down those *Enemies of Liberty*;) it is but reasonable, I say, that he should direct us to those *valuable Writings*, which he *formerly* publish'd, that we may judge them by this *new Test*; this infallible Criterion of *political Scandal*; and see whether He hath a better Capacity for *Satire* than He hath discovered for *Panegyrick*. But till He thinks fit to do This, I shall look upon this Paragraph as a broad Hint to *those Gentlemen*, in whose Service He is at present engaged; and at the same Time an Overture to the *opposite Party*, in case the *others* should neglect Him. Why, the Man is in the right to speak betimes, and make provision against the worst; but if He cannot write much better *against Men in Power* than He hath hitherto done *for them*, I must be so free

as to advise Him to look out for some other Employment; for unless *one Party* is much more *tender* than I really take them to be, they will hardly be afraid of his *Menaces*; and I am very confident that the *other* will not think it worth their while to give Him any Encouragement.

D.



N^o 122. SATURDAY, *November 2, 1728.*

Argumentum ad HOMINEM.

The Subject of the Liberty of the Press continued.

THOUGH what I and my Correspondents have already said, in Vindication of this great Bulwark of our Constitution, may be thought sufficient; and my Adversaries themselves seem to be ashamed of their Cause, when fairly explained; yet as this Subject is universally esteem'd to be highly *seasonable* at present, I cannot, perhaps, undertake a more agreeable Employment than to justify it at large, by the Reasoning and Example of *eminent Men*.

These Considerations have induced me to pursue this Argument a little farther, and to strengthen it with the Authority of another excellent Pamphlet, published in the Year 1713, and intitled, *a short History of the Parliament*, with this Motto prefixed to it,

Venalis Populus, venalis Curia Patrum!

Though this Piece was written, as I have been told, under Confinement in the TOWER (by a Gentleman, who makes a quite different Figure in the World at present) yet it must be allowed to contain a true Spirit of *British Liberty*; and I chuse to give the Reader some Extracts out of *this Piece*, amongst several others of the same great Author, that are written with equal Freedom, because it relates to the Conduct of the *House of Commons*; which some of his present, ill-judging Friends have contended ought to be inviolably exempt from the Examination and Chastisement of the *Press*.

I shall premise only *two Things* more, by way of Caution to these *temporizing Scribblers*. The *first* is, that they will not have the Confidence to ascribe the the Origen of this Pamphlet to a Spirit of *Disappointment* and *Revenge*; nor presume to argue that the great Author treated a *British Parliament* in this Manner, because he was just before expelled from it Himself, upon an Accusation of *Bribery* and *Corruption*. The *second* is, that they will not charge me with any Intention of drawing an invidious Parallel between *those Times* and the *present*. If there is any *such Parallel*, let *Him* answer for it, who *drew it*, and hath since had it in his Power to *prevent* it. My only Design is to prove, from the Example and Authority of this *incomparable Person*, whom I have quoted *verbatim*, that a free People ought to enjoy the *same Liberty of Writing*, even against *Parliaments* themselves, whenever there shall happen to be the *same Occasion*.

“ It hath been usual, at the End of *former Parliaments*, to give the World some Account or History
 “ of their Proceedings; and as *this Parliament* may be
 “ truly said to have distinguished themselves from all
 “ that

“ *that ever went before them*, I think it but a Piece
“ of Justice due to them, to Those that chose them,
“ and to Those, who are soon to proceed to a new
“ Election, to give a short Sketch of their most ex-
“ traordinary Transactions; which, I doubt not, will
“ preserve the Memory of *this Parliament* to Posterity
“ Former Parliaments have reckoned it their chief
“ Honour and Glory, to have faithfully discharged the
“ Part of Patriots; and, with all due Regard to the *Pre-*
“ *rogative*, thought it the principal Duty of the Re-
“ presentative of the People to watch over and secure
“ the *Rights, Privileges, Liberties and Properties* of the
“ Subject. What Care or Concern of this kind hath
“ been seen in *this Parliament*, I need not say. They
“ have prided themselves in the Titles of *dutiful* and
“ *loyal*; a Character, which no future Parliament will
“ ever want, that will be ready always to comply
“ with, and support the Projects of an *enterprizing*
“ *Ministry*; but let the Electors consider whether such
“ Qualifications are fitter for a Member of Parliament
“ of *Great-Britain*, or the Parliament of *Paris*.”

He then enters into the Designs of *that Ministry*;
particularly their Scheme of concluding a *strict Friend-*
ship with France; and afterwards goes on in the fol-
lowing Manner.

“ But as these Doctrines, when they were intirely
“ new, were at first surprizing and shocking to all the
“ Nation; to surmise such Events, was called *Malice*
“ and *Faction*. If any such Thing could be designed,
“ the *Parliament*, to be sure, would never come into
“ it; and This was to be our great Security; but how
“ far the Fears and Apprehensions of all honest Men
“ have been justified by the Event, is now no longer
“ a Question; and as *without the Concurrence of a Par-*
“ *liament, it was impossible to have plunged the Nation*
“ *into such inextricable Difficulties*, I will give you a
“ *short View, what a Share the Parliament hath had*

“ in this wonderful Undertaking, and how far they have
 “ contributed to the RUIN OF THEIR COUNTRY.

“ I have too much Charity to believe that all, who
 “ have been consenting to these pernicious Measures,
 “ equally designed the Mischiefs that have come upon
 “ us. *Those*, who have had the Management of this
 “ great Machine, and seem indeed to understand no-
 “ thing but the managing of *Parties*, and making a
 “ proper Use of the *Weakness* and *Corruption* of Man-
 “ kind, knew this desperate Game was not to be
 “ played, but by the utmost *Diffimulation*, and by de-
 “ ceiving and imposing upon great Numbers of well-
 “ meaning Men. Specious Pretences have never been
 “ wanting to gild the *bitter Pill*; and the Nation by
 “ Degrees hath been drawn into these Extremes. But
 “ as Gentlemens Eyes begin to be *open'd*, they surely
 “ will resent such *intolerable Treatment*; and when
 “ they find that what they were told of *other People*
 “ was utterly false; and that all the great Advantages
 “ they were made to hope for from this *new Scheme*,
 “ end in nothing, or what is worse, in the *Ruin of*
 “ *their Country*; they will begin to think, before it is
 “ too late, what must be the unavoidable Consequence,
 “ if they persist to go blindly on, and follow the Dic-
 “ tates of *Those, who have thus grossly deluded them.*”

He then takes upon Himself, with the same excel-
 lent Spirit of *Liberty*, to condemn and ridicule all the
 most important Transactions of *that Parliament*; par-
 ticularly their supplying the Deficiencies of her Ma-
 jesty's *civil List*; a Paragraph so very remarkable, that
 I cannot forbear transcribing it.

“ I must not forget, *says He*, the last Piece of Civi-
 “ lity, that this *courtly House of Commons* paid to the
 “ *Crown*; I mean the raising 500,000 *l.* to pay the
 “ Debts of the *civil List*. I will not enter into an Ac-
 “ count *how* this Debt came to be contracted. 'Tis
 “ notorious, and every Office of the Household can
 “ testify this Truth, that their *Arrears* are, at least,
 “ double

“ double of what they were at the *Change of the Mini-*
“ *stry*. 'Tis very well known that there was issued, in
“ the first eight Years of her Majesty's Reign, out of
“ the *civil List Funds*, to the Use of the *War* and other
“ *publick Occasions*, above 500,000 *l.* which very easily
“ accounts for the Debt incurred in that Time. I
“ make no doubt that there have been *large and very*
“ *extraordinary Issues made since*; I do not suppose for
“ the Service of the *War*; perhaps for obtaining and
“ justifying this *wonderful Peace*; though, 'tis hard,
“ that *France* should not pay that Reckoning; which
“ although I can give no Account of, I make no
“ doubt but *They*, that were so ready to *pay the Debt*,
“ had their *Reasons* for so doing, and can in a great
“ Measure account for the *contracting* of it. Whether
“ they were induced to pay this Debt, for the *Share*
“ *They have had of it*, or what they are to have, towards
“ enabling them to carry their *next Elections*, is not
“ material; but 'tis certainly a *most dangerous Prece-*
“ *dent to be mortgaging the Funds, that are settled*
“ *for the Support of the civil List; which by Degrees may*
“ *be all so far engaged and granted away, that a Land-*
“ *Tax or a Malt-Tax must be made at last an heredi-*
“ *tary Revenue for the Support of the Honour and Dig-*
“ *nity of the Crown.*”

He concludes with one general Remark; “ that
“ *this House of Commons* must be confessed to be a
“ Set of very *dutiful and loyal Gentlemen*, who out
“ of Principle will go as far in *complying with all the*
“ *Demands of a Ministry*, as any that ever went be-
“ fore them, or can ever succeed them. But I would
“ not have it thought, that all This was *pure Loyalty*.
“ A little Regard to *Themselves*, and a *small Spice of*
“ *Interest* must be allowed to have had some Share in
“ influencing and procuring all this *dutiful and sub-*
“ *missive Behaviour*; and I wonder, indeed, that *Those*,
“ who employed them, and had the *Benefit* of their
“ professed Zeal for the Prerogative, did not consult

“ their Honour a little more, than so openly and
 “ *barefaced*, at the End of each Session, to be *rewar-*
 “ *ding* them for their good and faithful Service. It
 “ was never known before, that *Days were set apart*
 “ for rewarding Members of Parliament with *Places*
 “ and *Employments*. He, that will look upon the
 “ Votes of the *last Day* of the first Session, will find
 “ almost nothing done, but *new Writs* ordered in the
 “ Room of *Parliament-Men*, who had received their
 “ *Wages for their past Year's Service*; and to such a Pitch
 “ were They come at last, that, at the End of the
 “ second Session, when the *Queen's Speech* was made,
 “ and the Session closed, to all other Intents and Pur-
 “ poses, both Houses are ordered to adjourn themselves
 “ for *eighteen Days*, as if something extraordinary was
 “ still behind, that might require the sitting of the
 “ Parliament; but when the Day comes, nothing is
 “ done but a second List of *loyal Members preferred*
 “ is produced; and the Vacancies of *Patriots turn'd*
 “ *Courtiers* are, by new Writs, order'd to be fill'd
 “ up; that these *dutiful Members* might be ready, at
 “ the Beginning of the next Session, to serve *Those*, that
 “ had so well rewarded them for their *past Services*.

“ This, *says He*, is a very short History of *this me-*
 “ *morable Parliament*. You see the Picture in *Minia-*
 “ *ture*. If it were to be drawn at *whole Length* and to
 “ the *Life*, it would surprize you more; but by this
 “ Sample the Freeholders of *England* may judge by
 “ *what Means this Parliament* hath deserved to have
 “ their Memory transmitted to Posterity; and will
 “ surely consider well of their *past Behaviour*, before
 “ They chuse *Those* again, who for the Characters of
 “ *loyal and dutiful* have sacrificed their Country to the
 “ POWER OF FRANCE; which can end in nothing but
 “ bringing in the *Pretender, Popery, and Slavery.*”

The Reader cannot help observing, that this Charge
 is not couched in *Dreams, Fables, or Allegories*.
 Here is no Occasion for *Innuendo's*, or forced *Construc-*
tions.

tions. Here are no Ironies or double Meanings; but the most explicit Assertions, which amount to an open, undisguised Charge, in downright, plain *English*, though not by way of *legal Accusation*, against a *Parliament* and *Ministry* then in being. We cannot, surely, therefore, entertain any Apprehensions, that *this Gentleman* will give the least Countenance or Encouragement to any Restraint on the *Liberty of Writing*, who hath exercised it Himself in so great a Latitude, and to so much Advantage, that He may be truly said to have been WRITTEN into Power. D.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE Animadversions, in my last, on the Author of the *London Journal*, were extended to so great a Length, that I had not Room to take any Notice of his Paper of the 19th Instant; in which He thinks fit to justify his late Misrepresentation of *Tacitus*, in the Case of *Augustus*. He says, with great Assurance, that *Tacitus* does not mention it with *Indignation*; and, in order to prove it, singles out a naked Sentence of that Author, without any Connection, or letting the Reader know what precedes or follows it. I will therefore produce the whole Passage at length in the *Original*, to prevent all Cavils about the *Translation*, and leave the World to determine whether, considering this Author's reserved Manner of writing, it does not contain the strongest Marks of his Indignation. *Nomen Patris Patriæ Tiberius, a Populo sapius ingestum, repudiavit; neque in acta sua jurari, quamquam censente senatu, permisit; cuncta mortalium incerta, quantumque plus adeptus foret, tantò se magis in lubrico dictans. Non tamen ideo faciebat Fidem civilis animi; nam Legem Majestatis reduxerat; cui Nomen apud veteres idem, sed alia in Judicium veniebant; si quis Proditione Exercitum, aut Plebem seditio-nibus, denique male gesta Republica Majestatem Populi Romani minuisset. Facta arguebantur. Dicta impune erant*

erant. Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis Libellis Specie Legis ejus tractavit, commotus Cassij Severi Libidine, quâ viros, Feminasque illustres procacibus Scriptis diffamaverat. Mox Tiberius, consultante Pompeio Macro Pratore, an Judicia Majestatis redderentur? exercendas Leges esse respondit. Hunc quoque asperavere Carmina; incertis Auctoribus vulgata, in savitiam; superbiamque ejus, & discordem cum Matre Animum. Haud pigebit referre in Falanio & Rubrio, modicis Equitibus Romanis, pratentata Crimina; ut quibus Initii quantâ Tiberij Arte, gravissimum Exitium irrepserit, dein repressum sit, postremo arserit, CUNCTAQUE CORRIPUERIT, noscatur.

If This is not a Style of Indignation, I should be glad to know what is——But, says the *Journalist*, *Cassius Severus never wrote any Libels against Augustus or his Family*; which is more than He knows, or seems very probable, when we consider his Character, though it does not indeed appear from *Tacitus*. I confess that, having had occasion to take Notice of this Passage in a former Paper, and thinking it very fresh in my Mind, I related it upon Memory, and said, by Mistake, that *Augustus*, instead of *Tiberius*, was provoked to this Method of Proceedure by the *Libels*, which were published against Him and his Family, as appears from the Passage before cited. If this Acknowledgment (which I think I may make without taking Shame to myself) can be any matter of Triumph to the *Journalist*, He is heartily welcome to it; but I must observe, that it is not of the least Consequence to the Point before us; which is whether it was a justifiable Action in *Augustus*, from whatever Motive it might proceed, to pervert a Law from its original Intention to the Punishment of Words and Writings. If it is not justifiable, his mentioning it was egregiously sophistical and ridiculous, if not dishonest; for unless it was an Example, which ought to be imitated, it had nothing to do in the Argument
between

between us. But if He will still persist in his Error, and maintain that it was a *justifiable Action*, contrary to all Law, Equity and Reason; He ought to be *abhorred and despised*, instead of being *answered*.

His Quotations from *Horace*, in the same Paper, are still less, if possible, to the Purpose; for they amount only to a Proof that *Libels were punishable*, before this tyrannical Act of *Augustus* in perverting the *Law of Majesty*; though we have no Account, that I know of, what the Penalties inflicted upon *Libellers* were. But it is plain from this Passage of *Tacitus*, that no Kind of *Words or Writings* were esteemed *high Treason*; and the Manner, in which the same Author relates the Case of *Cremutius Cordus*, a Writer who was punish'd by a Stretch of this Law, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, is another strong Proof of his Indignation.

But what is all This to the Purpose? Because *Libels* were punishable in *Rome*, by *Laws peculiarly adapted to them*, is This any Reason for perverting *other Laws*, made for quite different Ends, to the Punishment of the same Crimes? I shall only add, under this Head, that *Libellers* are now punishable in *England*, as they were in *Rome*, by the municipal *Laws* of the Land, which is a *sufficient Restraint* upon *Writers*, and the *only Restraint*, that ought to be put upon them in a *free Country*.

If the *Journalist* quoted *Horace* with any other Intent than to prove that there were *Laws* in *Rome* against *Libels*, He is as unfortunate in his Authority as ever; since the very *Satire*, from whence he takes one of his Quotations, is a direct Justification of *satirical Writings*. Nay, it appears from it that He not only attacked the *Vices*, but even the *Persons* of *wicked, great Men*; for otherwise why should He introduce his Friend *Trebatius* as apprehensive that He would not be long-lived, but that the *Creatures* of some *Men in Power* would dispatch Him?

O Puer, ut sis
*Vitalis metuo, & Majorum ne quis Amicus
 Frigore te feriat.*

But *Horace* tells Him, like an honest brave Man, that whatever should be the Consequence, he would continue to write *Satire*, as *Lucilius* and others had done; and that only wicked Men would be offended at Him.

*Quid cum est Lucilius ausus
 Primus in hunc operis componere Carmina Morem,
 Detrahere & Pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
 Cederet, introrsum turpis? num Lælius, aut qui
 Duxit ab oppressâ meritum Carthagine nomen,
 Ingenio offensi? aut laso doluere Metello,
 Famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? atqui
 PRIMORES Populi arripuit, Populumque TRIBUTIM;
 Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus Amicis.*

Trebatius then gives him a friendly Caution, to take Care of the *Laws*, in the following Verses; which the *Journalist* quotes by piece-meal, according to Custom.

*Sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti
 Incutiat Tibi quid sanctarum Inscitia Legum.
 Si mala condiderit in quem quis Carmina, Fus est
 Judiciumque.*

To which *Horace* replies very justly ;

*Esto, si quis mala; sed bona si quis
 Judice condiderit, laudatur Cæsare. Si quis
 OPPROBRIIS DIGNUM latraverit, integer ipse,
 Solventur Rifu Tabulæ; tu missus abibis.*

D.

N^o 123. SATURDAY, *November 9, 1728.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,

MONTGOMERY.

SINCE my last from hence, which you was pleased to insert in your Paper of the 17th of *August*, I have thought fit to review that Subject, which I think deserves a little farther Enlargement, by considering what may be the *Motives* that induce an *evil Minister* to corrupt and influence *Parliaments* by any indirect Means, and the *Consequences* of such a Practice; which as they would be most odious to our Constitution and Liberties, I think a just Observance of our Laws in this Point cannot more properly be urged and inculcated, than at a Time, when the Breach of them is least to be apprehended; for in a different Season, an Animadversion upon them might be very fatal, by drawing down the Resentment of *Those*, for whose Security such extraordinary Methods should be set on Foot and encouraged; but at present those Thoughts can only tend, as they are designed, to encourage a *Perseverance*, and confirm in my Countrymen an unbyassed and disinterested Conduct in their *Elections*.

I say then, such a Practice will never be set on Foot but when *Blunders* and *Miscarriages* have happen'd in the Government, either thro' the Ignorance and Incapacity, or to promote the private Interests or Avarice

of some *wicked Minister*. Extraordinary Arts must then be made Use of to *screen* the Authors from the general Resentment and Odium of the People. Votes, Resolutions and Laws must be made, however otherways unnecessary, to raise a Cloud over such a mischievous Administration; and thus, by casting a Mist over the Eyes of the People, prevent that Vengeance, which would naturally fall on the Contrivers and Abettors of such destructive Schemes.

All Governments are then only stable and lasting, when they closely pursue the Laws and Constitution, upon which they were founded. This appears from the Duration of all States, that have ever appeared in the World; for Laws were first made and instituted, in every Country, by some prudent Law-Giver or competent Number of People, who best understood the Nature and Genius of the People, and the Interest, to which they were nearest attached; and such Laws having had the Sanction of Time, and by Experience found to be the best that could conduce to make the People happy, they then became sacred, and the Violation of them was justly esteemed the greatest Injury to the Commonwealth; for it is as preposterous to conceive that a Government can be dissolved, while the Laws are observed, as that it can long subsist, when its Foundation is undermined and subverted.

If therefore all Governments ought to have a careful Eye over the Constitution, and never to deviate from it, how ought *Englishmen* to be jealous of the Rights and Freedom of *Parliaments*, the Basis of their Constitution; the Mediator between King and People; the just Scale and Ballance of his Prerogative and their Liberties; the safe Repository of their Properties? This surely ought always to be found, free, unbiass'd, unrestrain'd, disinterested; and to have no other Principle to inspire it but Loyalty to the King and true Patriotism, a tender Care of the People's Privileges.

Machiavel

Machiavel observes, that "there cannot be a more profitable or necessary Power given to Those, who in a City are appointed as *Guardians of Liberty*, than That of *accusing* the Citizens before some Magistrate or Council, whensoever they offend in any Thing against a free State."

This *profitable, necessary Power* no Constitution enjoys so eminently as the *Guardians of England; the Commons in Parliament*; who are the grand Inquest of the Nation, to detect the Corruptions and Errors of Government, and to curb *despotic, evil Ministers*. This restrains their Ambition, and directs their Counsels to the Advancement of the Honour, Splendour and Glory of the Crown, and to the Preservation of the People's just Rights and Privileges. But if *Parliaments* should therefore, at any Time, come under the Influence and arbitrary Controul of an *evil Minister*, how might he not proceed from one Iniquity to another, with Impunity? And that Part of the Constitution, which is a Curb to restrain and punish him, will become his *Prostitute*, and be made his *Protector* and *Defender*. If it were only to preserve this one great Privilege of the *Commons*, the Right of *Impeachment*, all honest *Britons* would tremble at an Attempt made on the *Freedom of Parliaments*, and ought inviolably to maintain the Right of *Elections*.

It is somewhere justly observed that Magistrates made by *Themselves*, not Those chosen by the *People*, endanger publick Liberty. This will hold in the Choice of a *Member of Parliament*; which ought always to be at the free Election of the *People*, and not at the Appointment of *great Men*. The *People* always know their own Interests best, and what most promotes their Trade, Traffick and Merchandize; and likewise what it is that injures or oppresses them; because they more intimately feel, and are affected with it. They will therefore, as long as they are *free*, neither tempted with *Bribes*, nor awed by *Power*, chuse such

Representatives as will give the best Counsel to the Prince, and be most careful of their Freedom; or which is the same, the Constitution; such as will best promote the Good of the Commonwealth and redress its Injuries; and therefore if a *Minister* has, by a foul and wicked Administration, drawn upon him the Odium and Resentment of the People, how dare he trust, nay, how ought he to fear their Power? He knows that he shall be made a Sacrifice to their just Rage, if not prevented. Then will it be high Time for him to cast about some Way or other to infringe this sacred Branch of the Constitution, a *free Election*, and by any Means gain a Return of *Those*, who if they will not assist him, in the carrying on his Schemes, yet will not molest or obstruct them. This would perhaps engage the Treasure of the Nation, (especially if *such a Minister* should happen to be *Treasurer*) laid aside to support and defend it; to corrupt and destroy it. Some People's Voices must at any Rate be *bought*, others menac'd into a Compliance, and *Pensions* make up what before was not effected; *Pensions*, which would make the Partakers generous and free of their *Election Money*, and with a grateful Alacrity vote any Sum demanded for *secret Services*, by so honourable and *bountiful* a Distributer of it, by which Means it would circulate from the *Treasury* to the *Electors*, and at last to the *Treasury* again; but whether the *Ebb* from it would be as great as the *Tide* to it, would deserve some Consideration. Such an Abuse, I say, would be the natural Effort of a *guilty, hated Minister*; and if we should complain of our *Representatives*, they might then lay it all on the uncontrouled, irresistible Power of *such a Minister*; but he would, no doubt, as properly retort it, with a *Sneer*, on *ourselves*; and tell us, we had sold our *Freedom*; that if we take Money, we must expect it is for something; and if we feel a Burthen on our Shoulders, we have the Wages in our Pockets, though never so small a Pit-

tance.

tance. What should we say to ourselves? what indeed to our Posterity, who for a Shadow have disinherited them of so fair a Patrimony?

Again. Suppose *such a Minister*, thro' *Incapacity* or *Ignorance*, *Pride*, or *Insolence*, should offend some *foreign Power*; incroach on his just Rights; and invade his Possessions; and seeing Vengeance pouring upon him by just Reprisals, should want *Courage* or *Means* to avert the Storm; what Hopes, what Redress could we expect from an *adulterated Parliament*; who, instead of punishing the *Minister*, would support and avow the Fact, and so justify him in the Eye of his Prince? But when the gathering Cloud is ready to burst over his Head, and all other Methods unregarded, because not so well understood, he will then fly to his experienced Traffick, and lavish the People's Treasure for his own Support, with the Concurrence of his *obsequious Pensioners*, who would enable him to buy his Quiet with large Sums *without Account*, the only modest Part of the Transaction; for with what Face could *such a Minister* make up or expose such an Account fairly to the Eyes of a plundered People? Or, how could they receive so ungrateful a Reproach, so glaring a Mark of their own ill-placed Confidence and venal Compliance? This then would be a natural Consequence of a *corrupted Parliament*. The Treasure of the Nation would be squandered; and the People must groan under burthenome Taxes, to support and gild over the Iniquities of a *corrupt Minister*. This would be the *Case*, instead of those reasonable and just Supplies, which are now from Time to Time chearfully granted; and without which no Government could possibly subsist; especially under a Ministry, so sparing in *secret Services*.

From such Measures would naturally result a Necessity for a *standing Army*; for the Hatred of the People at home against such an *over-grown Minister*, wanting an Opportunity to awake the Prince, and ap-

prize him of such foul Measures, and to demand from his gracious Hand so ripe a Sacrifice, (their proper and natural Approach to his sacred Person, by Parliament, being now stopt;) a *standing Army* might then be a proper Expedient to silence their Murmurings, and choak up their just Complaints; for tho' a *standing Army*, under a good and gracious King, and under an upright Administration, may deter our Enemies from any Insults at home, and would effectually preserve our Liberty; yet how dangerous such a Weapon might be in the Hands of a *wicked Minister*, every *Englishman* can judge.

I must now congratulate my Country that This is not our Case at present, nor ever can be, as long as they hold fast their Integrity, and pursue their own plain Reason and Understanding, both in *Elections* and in *Parliament*.

I am, S I R,

O.

Your most humble Servant,

CAMBRO-BRITANNUS.

A Sequel to the FABLE
OF THE
OAK and the DUNGHILL.

In Imitation of STERNHOLD and HOPKINS.

I.

AT length this Oak, all *canker'd* round,
And *rotten* to the Heart,
Became the Nuisance of the Ground,
And play'd the Tyrant's Part.

II.

II.

His monstrous Bulk the Moisture drain'd
From every Plant below;
The Vegetables all complain'd
Except the *Mistletoe*.

III.

A Field of *Hemp*, in this Distress,
For Vengeance loudly cry'd.
(Blest Plant! whose Vertues could redress
Our Woes, if well apply'd.)

IV.

Hemp ope'd his awful Mouth and spoke
To the oppressive Tree;
"Thou arrogant, aspiring Oak,
"No bigger once than me,

V.

"Though pamper'd, by thy Master's Care,
"To feed his numerous Swine,
"Dar'st Thou with that *sam'd* Oak compare,
"Which sav'd the *Royal Line*?

VI.

"'Tis true, indeed, you both inclose
"A King for different Ends;
"He screen'd a Monarch from his *Foes*;
"You guard him from his *Friends*.

VII.

"*Acorns*, I grant, Thou once didst bear;
"But now grown *fruitless* quite,
"*Chaplets* become thy only Care,
"And *Ribbons* thy Delight.

VIII.

"Thy *clumsy Trunk* and *awkward Air*,
"With *Garlands* thus attir'd,
"Looks like a *May-Pole* in a Fair,
"By Sots and Fools admir'd.

IX.

- “ With the *Dodonian* Oak you vie,
 “ From him derive your Line;
 “ Whose *Oracles* prov’d all a *Lye*,
 “ And so I fear will *thine*.

X.

- “ But whether to those ancient Plains
 “ Thou truly art a-kin;
 “ Or, as the Neighbourhood maintains,
 “ To modern Oaks of *Lynn*;

XI.

- “ Give Ear, and I thy Doom will shew;
 “ E’er many Months are past,
 “ Stript of thy Gew-gaws, *Red* and *Blue*,
 A *Rope* shall bind thee fast.

XII.

- “ For know, our most indulgent Lord
 “ The general Wish shall crown,
 “ And every Plant, with one Accord,
 “ Will join to pull thee down.

XIII.

- “ Oft I’ve been told, on this fair Ground,
 “ That many a Traytor-Tree
 “ Hath been in *hempen* *Durance* bound,
 “ Though stout and proud as Thee.

XIV.

- “ Let *Pagan Gods* and *Priests*, a Score,
 “ To ward thy Fate combine;
 “ Though rescu’d from the *Lightning’s* Power,
 “ Thou shalt submit to *mine*.



N^o 124. SATURDAY, November 16. 1728.

*Remember, O my Friends, the Laws, the Rights,
The generous Plan of Power, deliver'd down
From Age to Age, by our renown'd Forefathers,
(So dearly bought, the Price of so much Blood!)*
*O ! let them never perish in your Hands,
But piously transmit them to your Children.* CATO.



Have lately read, with a great deal of Pleasure, the Bishop of London's *Pastoral Letter to the People of his Diocese; occasioned by some late Writings in Favour of Infidelity.*

His Lordship hath treated this Subject in so masterly a Manner, that I hope it will prove a sufficient Antidote against the Poison, to which it is so seasonably applyed; but as his Lordship confines Himself intirely to *spiritual Affairs*, and the People of *England* seem to stand equally in need of some *Pastoral Instructions*, of a *political Nature*, I shall beg Leave to tread in his Steps, and extend his excellent *Rules and Arguments* to the Emolument of my Countrymen in a *civil Capacity*.

The CRAFTSMAN's Pastoral Letter to the People of England; occasioned by some late Writings in Favour of wicked Ministers, Corruption and arbitrary Power.

Friends, Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects,

" The Office I bear in the *State*, and my particular
" *Relation to you*, as a *political Writer*, oblige me to
" study

“ study your *temporal* Good, and to warn you of any
 “ Danger, to which I see you exposed, either in *Prin-*
 “ *ciple* or *Practice*. For though you are committed, as
 “ to *national Affairs*, to the more immediate Care of
 “ *civil Ministers*; yet not so, as to exclude you from
 “ the Care of *political Writers*; especially in Cases,
 “ where the Concern is general; and the Danger such,
 “ as may not fall under the Observation of every par-
 “ ticular Magistrate. And I am not without Hope,
 “ that what I shall say to you will be more generally
 “ attended to, and make an Impression somewhat
 “ stronger, as it comes to you *directly from the Hands*
 “ *of your Craftsman*; who hath laboured so zealously
 “ and faithfully in your Cause for almost two Years past;
 “ and being not spoken, but written, you will have
 “ better Opportunity to peruse, consider and apply it,
 “ with such Care and Deliberation, as the Importance
 “ of the Matters deserves.

“ The *Method*, I own, is uncommon; but so is the
 “ *Occasion* too. For they, who live in these great Cities,
 “ or have had frequent Recourse to them, and have
 “ any Concern for the Good of their Country, must
 “ have observed, to their great Grief, that *Corruption*,
 “ *Luxury*, *Prostitution*, and *slavish Doctrines* of every
 “ Kind, are grown bold and open; that a new Sort of
 “ *Vice*, of a very horrible Nature, and almost unknown
 “ before in these free Parts of the World, was spring-
 “ ing up and gaining Ground amongst us, if it had
 “ not been checked by the seasonable Care of the pre-
 “ sent, excellent Administration; that burthensome
 “ Taxes and numerous standing Armies have been openly
 “ vindicated, and publick Debts recommended as pub-
 “ lick Benefits; that great Pains have been taken to
 “ make future evil Ministers easy in their Iniquities
 “ and Depredations, by taking away the Liberty of the
 “ Press, and thereby undermining our Constitution
 “ and promoting Tyranny and arbitrary Power; and,
 “ what adds to the Danger, as well as our just Pro-
 “ vocation,

“ *vocation*, by doing it under specious Colours and
“ Pretences of several Kinds; particularly That of
“ defending the *present Government*, and securing the
“ *Protestant Succession*; which do not want *such Aids*,
“ and are incompatible with *such Principles*.

“ These are Things, which no *free-born Subject*, I
“ might add, no *Slave* of common Sense, who hath
“ any Regard for the Welfare of Mankind, can behold
“ and reflect on, without the deepest Concern; much
“ more ought every *publick Writer* to be awake, and
“ to double his Care over his Fellow-Subjects, whose
“ Cause He hath undertaken, when He sees so many
“ Devices set on Foot to corrupt and poison them,
“ both in their *Principles* and *Morals*.

“ Accordingly, many excellent Books, Pamphlets,
“ and Papers have been published, on this Occasion,
“ in Defence of the *British Constitution*; but as these
“ Writings are, many of them, either too large or
“ too learned for the Generality of the People, and
“ consist of such a Chain of Reasoning as Persons of
“ common Capacity cannot easily follow and com-
“ prehend; I have thought it incumbent upon me
“ to draw up, for your Use, some few Rules and
“ Cautions, which are short and easy; and which,
“ being frequently perused and duly attended to,
“ may be a Means to preserve every sincere Lover of
“ his *King* and his *Country* from these dangerous In-
“ fections.”

1. *Be sure that you have a Mind sincerely desirous to know the true Nature of our Constitution, and firmly resolved to promote, as far as lies in your Power, all such Measures, as shall appear to be most agreeable to it.*

“ This is a necessary Preparation for the Knowledge
“ of *political Truths*,” without which it is impossi-
ble for any Man to become a *sincere, good Subject*, or
a *true Briton*, properly so called; for if he will not
give Himself the Trouble of enquiring into the Na-
ture

ture of our *Constitution*, but is resolved to place an implicit Faith in *Those*, who happen to be in Power, and to approve all Measures, at random, which They set on Foot, “ He is not only liable to be deceived “ by *others*, but seems determined to deceive *Himself*.” If he is in the *Right*, it is only by *Chance*, and not *meritorious*; but if he happens to be in the *Wrong*, He is highly *culpable*, for blindly giving his particular Sanction to *those Measures*, which tend to the immediate Ruin of his Country.

II. *As a farther Proof of your Sincerity in the Love of your Country, be careful and diligent in the Use of all those Means, which your glorious Ancestors have afforded you for the right Understanding and Preservation of our happy Constitution*; “ particularly by reading *MAGNA CHARTA*, (the *Englishman's political Bible*) and making it familiar to you; as well as “ those excellent Comments upon it, the *Prince of Orange's Declaration*, the *Petition of Right*, and the “ *Bill of Settlement*; by the Help of which, a moderate Capacity may be able to make considerable “ Advancement in the Knowledge of the *British Constitution*. But if, after all your Endeavours, you “ meet with *Difficulties* of any Kind, have Recourse “ to some Persons of *disinterested Probity and Ability*, “ upon whose Knowledge and Judgment you believe “ you may safely rely. Only beware that the *Difficulties* be not owing to any previous, *corrupt Views*, “ or attended with any *Unwillingness* to receive Satisfaction.”

III. *After you have secured the Sincerity of your own Hearts, attend to the Lives and Passions of Those, who endeavour to seduce you, or whom you see endeavouring to seduce others*; “ whether, in the general, They have “ been *moderate in their Desires*, as well as *upright* “ and *unblemished in their Conduct*; or, on the contrary, *vicious, insatiable, and corrupt*. If the latter, “ and all their *Designs* seem to be, as their *Actions* “ tend

“ tend, to amass *Riches*, to raise *great Families*, to
“ build *stately Palaces*, and almost vye with the *Prince*
“ *Himself*; if this, I say, appears to be the Case, you
“ need not wonder that They take so much Pains to
“ reason you into *slavish Principles*; without which
“ their Minds cannot be easy in the Enjoyment of their
“ *wicked Acquisitions*; nor that They become Advo-
“ cates for the *same Vices*, and are industrious to gain
“ *Profelytes*, on Purpose to keep themselves in Coun-
“ tenance, and to make their Iniquities less *infamous*,
“ as well as *dangerous*, by being more *fashionable*.
“ Take it for granted, that *such Men* are Enemies to
“ our *Constitution* for no other Reason, but because
“ our *Constitution* is an Enemy to their *ambitious*,
“ *self-interested* and *rapacious Designs*.”

IV. *Whenever you meet with any Books or Writings upon this Subject, read them carefully and impartially; nor suffer any Prejudices or selfish Considerations to divert you from the strictest Regard to Truth.*

It is a true Saying, that *no Body is so blind as He that won't see*. I wish This may not be oftner the Case in *political Disputes*, than in any other; because Men are more liable to be influenced by *Hopes* or *Fears* of worldly Interest and Disadvantage. But whoever desires to be esteem'd a *true Patriot*, must shake off all these *Restraints* and *Prejudices*; and whether the Writings, which you meet with on this Subject, are written in a *serious* or a *ludicrous* Manner, is nothing to the Purpose; for I cannot help being of *Horace's* Opinion (whom I take to be a Man of Sense, as well as *Wit*) that *Ridicule may be as sure a Touch-stone of Truth as the gravest Argument*; and, with Submission to some *later, wise Heads*, I have hitherto always found it true, that no Persons are so angry with Writers of *Wit* and *Humour* as Those, who could never pretend to any *Themselves*.

V. *Be not persuaded to part with your Reason, under Pretence of relying on Ministers as your only Guide; for*
This

This hath been the chief Occasion of the Loss of *Liberty* in most Nations. There is not a Man in the World, whom a wise People ought to trust with so valuable a Jewel. *Ministers*, generally speaking, are apt to consider themselves too much, and their Country too little, notwithstanding all our Care, Vigilance and Circumspection ; but if through our Indolence, or their own exorbitant Power, they should ever get the Reins entirely into their Hands, and convince us that *meer Submission* is the only Duty of a Subject, I am afraid our *Liberties* would stand on a very precarious Foundation.

VI. *Do not reckon the Truth of any Principle or Doctrine of Liberty to be really doubtful, merely because some Men affect to make a Doubt of it.* “ There are “ Monsters in *Mind*, as well as in *Body* ; and it is an “ old Observation, that there never was any Opinion, “ so absurd, but what some Philosopher hath held.” In arbitrary Countries, it is no Rarity to hear Men maintain that *absolute Monarchy* is the happiest Form of Government ; and we have seen Opinions propagated, in *free Countries*, equally *slavish*, and therefore more *absurd*. I have already taken notice that *Debts, Taxes, standing Armies*, and *Restraints on the Press* have been lately justified by *some Authors*. Others have not been ashamed to vindicate *Corruption*, as a necessary Expedient of Government ; and to assert that *Ministers* ought to have an *unlimited Confidence* reposed in them. I cannot, indeed, say that any of these *worthy Gentlemen* have yet thought fit to give up *Liberty*, in plain Terms ; yet they take upon them to explain almost every Act of it into *Licentiousness*, and then argue against it, as the *Abuse of Liberty*. But though these Men endeavour to render the clearest Principles and most self-evident Truths *doubtful* by such fallacious Distinctions, do not you therefore part with your *Reason*, or make any *Doubt* of them ; but look on all such Attempts as the Machinations of *corrupt, ambitious*

ambitious Men, to serve *private Views* at the Expence of the *publick Welfare*.

VII. *When you see any Project in Agitation, which appears plainly contrary to the Fundamentals of our Constitution, or the Principles of Liberty in general, do not suffer yourselves to be led into it by any Pretences of present Exigencies or Necessities of Government; This hath been the common Artifice of designing Men to rob the People of their Liberties, who never fail to improve every Concession of this Nature, under one Administration, into a Precedent for doing the same Thing under another, whenever their Measures require it; for when a Thing, however extraordinary, hath been once done, without very bad Consequences, it will always be made a Reason for doing it again; till at last it grows, as it were, a regular Part of the Constitution. I could give several late Instances of This; but They have been so obvious to common Observation, that there is no Occasion to do it.*

VIII. *When the good or ill Conduct of an Administration comes in question, do not suffer yourselves to be drawn from the more plain and direct Proofs of it to others, that are less conclusive and obvious to common Capacities. " This is an Artifice usual with Writers, " who engage in a bad Cause; to labour, in the first " Place, to fix the Merits of the Cause upon some " Point, which either hath little Relation to it; or at " least is not the main Point; and then to run into " such Proofs, as are most remote and intricate; and " both These, on purpose to draw the Reader's At- " tention from the true State of the Case, and from " the Proofs, that are most plain, strong and direct." Publick Measures are best judged by the Effects, which they have on the Publick; by the Figure, which a Nation makes abroad; and the general Satisfaction that reigns at home; by the flourishing State of Trade and Commerce, the Encouragement of Merit, and the Prevalence of national Virtue. Whenever therefore any*

Persons endeavour to divert your Eyes from these Points, by having Recourse to *Apologies* and *distant Topicks*, you may safely conclude that it is for some Reason, which will not bear the Light; and that Things are not perfectly sound at the Bottom.

IX. *Be careful to preserve a serious, sacred and inviolable Regard, upon all Occasions, for the Rights, Liberties and Privileges of your Country; particularly, for the Freedom and Independency of Parliaments; upon which the very Essence of our Constitution depends.* There is, I know, a Set of Men amongst us, who endeavour to make a Jest of these Things; and when you offer to talk seriously of them, will affect to laugh in your Face, as if it was the Effect of *Folly* or *Madness*. But let not their Apostacy make you ashamed of your Zeal; which, as unfashionable and ridiculous as it may seem, will at length prevail over such abject and abandon'd Prostitution.

X. *Above all Things, beware of falling into an Unconcernedness and Indifference as to political Affairs; for as we have the Happiness to live under the best Constitution in the World, which hath been deliver'd down to us, at the Expence of infinite Toil, Danger, and Bloodshed, by the Vigilance, Courage, and uncorrupt Integrity of our Forefathers, for many Ages; it certainly deserves our highest Regard, and we should be worse than Brutes, if we do not use our utmost Endeavours to transmit it, in the same Manner, to our Posterity.*

“ Let me therefore beseech you to think of *Liberty*
 “ as a Matter of great Importance in itself, and of infinite Concern to every one of you; and not to
 “ suffer yourselves either to be diverted, by the *Business* or *Pleasures* of the World, from regarding it;
 “ or deluded by *wicked Men* into an Opinion that it
 “ *deserves* not your Regard.

“ These, my *Countrymen*, are the Rules and Directions, which I would put into your Hands and
 “ recommend

“ recommend to your serious and frequent Perusal ;
“ hoping that they may contribute to your Establish-
“ ment in the *ancient Principles of our Constitution*,
“ against all Attempts of *arbitrary and wicked Men*
“ to seduce and corrupt you; and that they may
“ become effectual to that great End, is the earnest
“ Wish of,

Your faithful Friend,

D.

And political Pastor,

CAL. D'ANVERS.





A P P E N D I X.

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

N O R F O L K S T E W A R D
C O N T I N U E D.

PART I. *Containing an Account of Mr. LYN's private Character ; and the Methods, by which he grew Rich.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS Esq;

S I R,



H A V E the Happiness to be Tenant to Sir George, and there is not one among them who has a more hearty Affection for him and his whole Family, than I have. When this Estate (which he now enjoys; and which, Heaven grant, he and his may long enjoy) was first left to him, by the general Attornment of the Tenants, and the Consent and Act of brave Sir William, his Ancestor; I had the pleasure, as a Witness

and

and a Tenant, to sign the Instrument my self. I saw good Sir *William* ratify it. I beheld him soon after expire; and could discern a pleasing Satisfaction in his Features, rising from the Comfort he received in having finished what he believed must make his Tenants the happiest and most easy of any People in our whole Country. You will forgive me, Sir, that I thus dwell on the Praise of my good old Master, Sir *William*. He was a Man, who loved his whole Species, and had a general Benevolence to Mankind. He did not think any Man was born for himself alone; nor could he bear to see any of his neighbouring Landlords use their Tenants ill, or rack them too high; and more than once he has engaged himself in expensive Law-suits, to deliver them from the Hands of the Oppressor. Mr. *Lyn*, of whom I now complain to you, Sir, was one of the Tenants; and tho' his little Copy-hold was then quite out of repair, and not a little incumbered with Debts, however it has been since improved, he professed himself very zealous, as well as the rest of us, in the Interest of our Landlord, and continued so some Years. But Time proves every Thing; and a very little while after he was appointed *Steward* to our *old Master*, he began to shew himself; and tho' the Affairs of Sir *George* grew every day worse under his Management, the Affairs of Mr. *Lyn* grew better and better every day. He began to look plump and round. His little Farm was clear of all Incumbrances. His Family, his Friends, his Relations, his Acquaintance, all grew plump likewise, and flourished under his Influence. He had indeed been very liberal to them, not out of his own Money, but his Master's. He put them into all the Employments he could find in the several Mannors; and very frequently, when there was no Employment ready, or open, or unenjoy'd by any of his Relations, Friends, or Dependents, he was ready to erect an Office, and to give it a Name and an Appointment out of his Master's

Rents; without any Consideration how much his Master was in debt; how detrimental it must prove to his Estate; or how ungrateful it was to the Tenants; who saw, and murmured to see, that their Farms were racked to the highest, to support the Family, and other Self-Interests of Mr. *Lyn*. Well, Sir, our *Steward* grew rich. He grew ambitious and vain, and haughty and humorous; and now He took it into his Head, that he was as accomplish'd a Gentleman even as Sir *George* himself. You must know that Sir *George* has a very handsome Seat in the Chancel of the Church, lined with *blue Cloth*; where he does not only sit himself, but is so courteous as to let other *Gentlemen of Quality* sit frequently with him. Mr. *LYN* (whose Maxim is that He, *who has most Money, is the best Man*) had a mighty mind to cut a Figure before all the Parish, and to sit in the *same Seat* with him. He got the Matter proposed to old Sir *George*; who, tho' he was one of the best-natured Men alive, yet at first positively refus'd to comply with his Request, being assured by the Country Gentlemen, whom he talk'd with, that it was never known, within the Memory of any Man living, that a Person of Mr. *LYN*'s inferior Rank was suffered to sit in *that Seat*. Mr. *LYN*, however, resolved not to give over so; but since he found Sir *George* was determined not to let him sit with *Himself*, he desired that he might have Leave, at least, to build a *new Seat* in the Church, for the Use of *Himself*, his *Family* and some of his *particular Friends*, and to line it with *RED*.

Sir *George*, who was glad to get rid of the Importunity of his *Steward* almost upon any Terms, consented; and even agreed that his own *Grandson*, one of the sweetest Babes then in Christendom, should sit along with Mr. *LYN*, to please his *Vanity*.

Mr. *LYN* had no sooner gain'd this Point, than he fell immediately to work, and built a Seat (with the *Parish Money*, which had just before been collected)
exactly

exactly like Sir George's own in every Thing, but the *Lining*; which, as I told you before, was *red*. To be sure, the oldest Man in the Parish never saw any body but *Landlord* himself make such a Figure before in the Church; and we all stood amazed, next *Sunday*, to see Mr. *Lyn* strut in at the head of his Company, all of them as fine as Money could make them, and take Possession of this *new Seat*.

One would have thought This might have sufficiently satisfy'd our *Steward's Vanity*; but Mr. *Lyn*, finding that no body in the Parish could after all be persuaded to think the *new Seat* as good as the *old one* in the Chancel, where the *Lords of the Mannor* and their *Companions* used to sit, never left teasing old Sir George, till the poor Gentleman, tho' much against his Inclination, was obliged at last to let Mr. *LYN* sit along with him. We cannot help observing, that Mr. *LYN* every now and then casts a sort of malicious Sneer down upon his *quondam Companions* in his *own Seat*; who look a little out of Countenance upon Master *LYN's* having left them so soon; but what most provokes the whole Parish, is, to see Mr. *LYN* leave Sir George's *own Son*, now the finest Boy in all the Country, in this *same new-fangled Seat*, while He himself sits with Sir George.

But these Frolicks, you will say, might only take Birth from the jocund Levities of an Head a little giddy with Prosperity; the playfome Gayeties, the *dulce desipere* of an Heart swollen with Power and Joy— We will go on then to consider Him only in his Character of *Steward*.

Mr. *LYN* was no sooner got into the *Stewardship*, but he, with very great assurance, told his Master that none of his Tenants had any hearty Affection for him, but himself and his Sons, his Brother *Townly* and his Sons, with their Relations and Intimates; that if it were not for his and their Management, Sir George would not be able to make any thing of the Estate.

Nay;

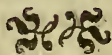
Nay, *Isaac Tombrel*, a Relation to a Relation of Mr. *Lyn's* by Marriage, had the assurance to affirm before Sir *George's* eldest Son, at the Mansion House in *Leicestershire*, that the Preservation of Sir *George's* whole Estate was owing to Mr. *Lyn*; for which, and other unmannerly Expressions, he was rebuked, disgraced; and sent back into *Norfolk*. Indeed, Mr. *Lyn* used frequently in publick to applaud himself for his good Management of the Estate; and to pronounce himself, with great Authority, the only Man in *England*, who knew how to keep a *Rental*. He went farther, and frequently declared that was it not for him, and his great Art and Skill, the Tenants would not pay their Rents; that they would forget all Respect and Duty to Sir *George*, or join with Squire *Welsh* in the Law-suit against him. Tho' Squire *Welsh* and his Pretensions were very low and despised, and almost forgot by every body; yet Mr. *Lyn* always endeavour'd to make his court to his Master, by assuring him, that several of his Tenants, Those I mean who held the largest Farms, and whose Hearts were always with Sir *George*, were secretly Favourers of the Pretensions of Mr. *Welsh*. This, indeed, Sir, appears to me one of Mr. *Lyn's* greatest Iniquities; as I think a Pick-thank in a Family the most odious Character. But he was resolved to support his Power, at the expence of every thing; and now finding himself, as he imagin'd, at least in trust and confidence with his Master, he raised his Crest, and threw out his natural Bronze; and as Insolence is ever the mark of a little Mind, tho' conscious to himself of more Crimes than any Man but himself can discover, he slighted his Superiors, and despised his Opponents. The Parish-Officers, the Assessors and Collectors of the Land-Tax, the Constables, Portreve, and Jurymen, were all his Creatures, Relations, Dependents or Subdependents; such whose Corruption and Consciences he could depend upon. Thus furnished, thus guarded and supported,

ported, he ventur'd on. He levy'd Money upon the Tenants on the most ridiculous Pretences. An old Bridge was to be repaired. A new one was to be built. The Parish wanted a Set of Bells. A new Pair of Stocks must be provided. He made them contribute to the keeping several Packs of Hounds; and sometimes Master *Lyn* wou'd demand a round Sum of Money for *private Uses*, and such as were by no means proper to be known to the Tenants.

Sir *George* has a Park, where his Tenants have time out of mind been permitted to recreate and refresh Themselves at leisure Hours, as often as they pleased; and thro' this Park many of them are oblig'd to pass every day to their Grounds. Mr. *Lyn*, who valued himself on his Genius for raising Money, order'd his *own Man* to stand before the Park-gate, and levy a Penny for the Passage of every Body, whom Business or Diversions oblig'd to pass that way; and This too under the Pretence of setting up a pair of Gates only, tho' the Money levy'd would new-pale the whole Park. I mention This, only to shew you how ready he is at Undertakings of this Kind.

However, notwithstanding all the Discouragements that the Tenants lay under, they might have thriven even under the Stewardship of Mr. *Lyn*, if he had not with the utmost Art and Application laboured to prevent it. The two greatest and known Enemies to Industry and Trade, are *Luxury* and *Gaming*. These he carefully encouraged; and in order to This, he invited the Tenants to a large *Gaming-Table*, which had been erected indeed in another *Robinocracy*, in the very Middle of the Market-place. To this *Gaming-Table* the Tenants, when they had disposed of their Wool, their Corn, &c. all hurry'd; and as there is in most Men a Lust after inordinate Gain, many of them play'd, and every day left behind them the Labours of their Industry. But Mr. *Lyn*, ever provident for himself, took care that This should turn to his Advantage;
for,

for, tho' he never appeared there himself, he always employ'd a few faithful Confidants to play for him, and allow'd them to share in some Part of the Spoil. It was always his Method, when he play'd thus by Deputy, to use *loaded Dice*, either high or low as he fancy'd; and when some of the Tenants, who by dear Experience were now grown very peery, observ'd Mr. *Lyn's* Dice in play, they would very artfully, as they imagin'd, set accordingly; that is, if they observ'd Mr. *Lyn* used high Dice, they set expecting them to run high, and so low, when they saw his Dice run low. But when the Stakes were deep enough to invite Mr. *Lyn's* Acceptance, they were always invisibly changed upon them; and he made Himself, by this ingenious Artifice, Master of great Part of the Property of the Tenants. By these means, the Manufactures of our Country are very much hurt, and our Trade decreases. This is at present the Case under our most righteous *Steward*; and they tell me, there is nothing he delights in, at this hour, so much as *Gaming by Proxy, and Fox-Hunting.* R.





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
NORFOLK STEWARD
CONTINUED.

PART II. *Containing a farther Account of Mr. Lyn's Management; and also of his Method of Stating and Ballancing Accounts.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS *Esq;*

S I R,



Believe my *last* hath convinc'd you that Mr. Lyn's Management of Sir George's *domestick Affairs* was full as extraordinary as That of his *Law-suits* with his *Neighbours*. But perhaps you will wonder that he should be suffer'd to go on so long in these Practices; that he hath not been constantly *presented* every *Court-day* for so many repeated *Misdoings*; or that even all the *Tenants* of the Mannor do not unanimously make it their Request to Sir George, that he would be pleas'd to remove a *Steward*, whose Management is generally disliked and complained of by all the *Tenants*. But your Surprize will vanish, when you recollect what I have told you in both my former Letters; that all the *Prime Officers*,
both

both of the *Parish* and the *Mannor*, as well as most of the *Jurymen*, were his own *Relations* or *Creatures*; that a great number of the *principal Tenants* were bribed into his Interest; and that many others, who had honest Intentions, were afraid to oppose a Man, who had it in his Power to *raise their Rent*, *distrain their Goods*, or *turn them out of their Farms* at pleasure, by representing them as *bad Tenants* or *Enemies to their Landlord*; tho' these very People were the best affected to their *Landlord*; tho' they paid their Rents punctually; and had no other demerit, but that they faithfully adhered to what they conceived to be the true Interest of Sir George. In short, it is the peculiar Character of Mr. *Lyn*, that when he took up a Prejudice, however unreasonable, against any of the *Tenants*, he always *made it a POINT* (as he call'd it) to ruin them with Sir George, and stuck at nothing to compass his End.

Yet notwithstanding all this Power, and this extravagant Use of it, there are many Persons of considerable Interest and Figure in the *Mannor*, who have constantly opposed him in all these Proceedings; and have, at present the Pleasure to see a general Spirit of Resentment rising against him. The Number of his *Opponents* increases daily; whilst many, some even of *Those*, who are *obliged* to act with him, are frequently heard to murmur against his Proceedings, in publick as well as private; and others, who eat his Bread, as he is insolently pleased to call it, (Sir George's Bread, the *Tenants* Bread he means) hang down their Heads; and, conscious of their Crime in not opposing his Measures, plead guilty to the Charge against him in their Silence.

The *Freemen* of the Town, where Sir George lives himself, are almost universally incensed against him, on *divers Accounts*; particularly for having introduced several *new Customs* amongst them; for always interposing his Authority in their *Elections of Parish-Officers*;

for making them pay more for their *Fewel* than the rest of the Tenants; for refusing to read a *Letter* written in their behalf, on this Account, and replying with an insolent Air, *that he did not care a F—t for the whole Town.*

Great Numbers of *poor Tradesmen*, who supplied the late Sir George with Necessaries, are ready to starve for want of the Money, which he died in arrear to them on that account; and This is the more extraordinary, because Sir George had always a sufficient Income to keep a noble House, and pay every body, as indeed he seem'd always inclinable to do; from whence they conclude, that Mr. Lyn embezzled great Sums himself, and squandered away others, for his own Vanity and Grandeur, amongst a *worse Kind of TRADESMEN* than they are. Nay, what adds to the Provocation is, that Mr. Lyn will not satisfy them *whether they shall ever be paid or not.*

The neighbouring *Country Gentlemen* complain of him for engrossing the *Game*, and forbidding them to hunt, or ride in Sir George's *PARKS*, as they used to do.

The *Clergy* charge him with recommending Men of the dullest Parts for Preferment in the Church to old Sir George, when any *Living*s fell; of which there was a great Number, during *his Life* and the *Stewardship* of Mr. Lyn.

The *Yeomanry* grumble for want of Money; the *Manufacturers* for want of Business; and the *poor Labourers* for want of Bread; and all impute their Misfortunes, (I think, not very unjustly) to Mr. Lyn, by engaging old Sir George in a *needless, expensive and chimerical Law-suit*, and thereby preventing the usual *Circulation* of Money in Commerce, by diverting it into other *Channels.*

In short, all Ranks of Men (except a *few particular Creatures* of his own) seem to have their respective

Complaints against him, and unite in their Wishes for a *new Steward*.

You may remember, I told you, in my *first*, that Sir George's Estate (when he came to it) was charged with an *heavy Debt*; and that when Mr. Lyn was call'd upon to give an Account of the *great Sums of Money*, which had passed thro' his Hands, he always refused to do it, and endeavoured to make a Jest of *Those* who demanded it. But at length, the general Clamour obliged him to consent to *some Examination*; upon which it appears, even by his *own Account*, that his Master's Estate is so far from being the *better* for his Management, according to his former, repeated Declarations, that it is *several hundred Pounds more in debt*, than it was before he came into the *Stewardship*, notwithstanding the *great Sums*, which ought to have been *yearly* applied towards paying it off.

But his *Manner of stating Accounts* is so very extraordinary, that I believe you will think it worth relating.

Mr. Lyn hath always boasted, that the *Family-Debt* was very much *diminished* within these *ten or eleven Years* past, and defied his Enemies to prove the contrary. Now, in order to see whether This was true or not, it was proposed, first, to state the *Debt*, as it stood *eleven Years ago*, in *all its Branches*; then to deduct from it the *several yearly Sums*, which have or ought to have been paid out of the *strong Box*, where the Savings from the Rents, after the Expences of the Family were paid, were constantly laid up, to discharge part of the Mortgage upon the Estate, as it was appointed to do, since *that Time*; and afterwards to compute the *whole Debt, of every Kind*, which the *Family* owes at *present*. It was agreed, I think, that the *Debt, eleven Years ago*, amounted to about 51000*l.* The *strong Box* was said to have produced, since *that time*, about 7000*l.* which reduces the Debt (had no *farther Debt* been incurred, as the Phrase in vogue is)

to

to 44000; and, in whatever Degree the *present Debt* should appear to be *less than that Sum*, so much, and no more, ought to be allowed to be *really diminished*, since *that Time*, by the Management of Mr. Lyn; since he could not pretend to arrogate to himself the Merit of *paying any Sums, which would have paid themselves*, had he let them alone.

This seem'd to be a *fair Proposal*, as it was generally esteem'd; but fair as it was, Mr. Lyn demurred to it. At first, indeed, he crack'd, bluster'd, and defy'd, as usual. At length, with much difficulty, he agreed to give in some Account. Accordingly he gave in his *own State of the Account*; and a Day was appointed for the *Enquiry*. When That came, he made a *considerable Alteration* in his own Account; and having afterwards acknowledged *that he had quite forgot several other considerable Sums of the Debt contracted*, he run his usual Circle. He asserted, affirmed, deny'd, was positive, was every thing but intelligible. He talk'd, in short, till he had not only made himself but many of his Hearers giddy. There is not, perhaps, so great a Master in *Europe* of the grand Art of Bambouze as Mr. Lyn. Though, said He, there are new Debts incurr'd, the old Debt is not increas'd. There are real Debts and nominal Debts. There are real nominal Debts, and nominal real Debts. There are Family Debts and personal Debts; which, though the Family must pay, ought not to be brought to the Family Account. There are Debts never stated, tho' incurred; and Debts which, tho' incurred and stated, might never be paid; so that, upon the whole, you see, Gentlemen, I have paid off a considerable Part of the Mortgage upon Sir George's Estate. But when he was told, that tho' it was true that Part of the *Norfolk Mortgage* was paid off, yet Sir George was really now as much in debt as before; because Mr. Lyn, to perform this mighty Deed, had borrow'd just as much upon Sir George's Estate in *Leicestershire*,

as he had paid off in *Norfolk*, so that the *Ballance* continued as before; he broke into a loud *Laugh*, and told the *Tenants* they knew nothing of *Accounts*, nor the difference between a *Debt* incurred and a *Debt* increased.

By the help of these *Distinctions*, and this *Jumble* of *Sophistries*, he struck off one *Article* of *above three thousand Pounds*, which he asserted to be a *very good Bargain to the Family*; another of almost *two thousand*, because it was owing to *very bad Management*; and a third of *one thousand*, for no other Reason, that I could hear, than that he did not know how to *justify the contracting* of it, or in what manner to provide for its *Payment*.

He had also the *Modesty* to place *another considerable Sum* amongst the *Debts discharged*, within *that Time*; which ought really to have been placed amongst *Those incurred*.

It is likewise worth observing, that *Mr. Lyn* had previously taken care to puzzle and perplex the *Accounts* as much as possible, in order to secure himself from *Detection*, by chopping and changing the *Securities into different Hands*; borrowing of *one* to pay off *another*; turning *Interest* into *Principal*, and *Principal* into *Interest*; with a thousand other *Arts* and *Stratagems* of the same Kind; so that he had a manifest Advantage over *Those*, who were not in the *Secret*.

Nay, what is still more extraordinary, he stated his *Account* of *Debts contracted* to *Christmas last only*; whereas he calculated the *Sum of Debts discharged* to *Lady-day* next; a Method of *stating and ballancing Accounts*, which was never before practised or heard of in these *Parts*!

And yet after all these *Finesses*, and *Fallacies*, and *arbitrary Postulata*, the *present Family-Debt* evidently appear'd to be, just as it was *eleven Years ago*, *fifty one thousand Pounds*, or thereabouts.

Tho' it is generally believed here, that this Affair will not redound much to the Credit of Mr. *Lyn*; yet it must be confessed, that his *Arithmetical Capacity* is really admirable; and that he hath proved himself beyond all Contradiction, to be a complete Master of *Addition*, as well as *Substraction*. N.

To be continued as the Steward goes on.



T H E

N O R F O L K C O N G R E S S,

O R

A full and true Account of the *Hunting, Feasting* and *Merry-making* of *Robin* and his Companions; being singularly delightful, and likewise very instructive to the Publick.



HUNTING and *Feasting* are both celebrated in holy Writ. *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter before the Lord; and the Hairy *Esau* is said to be a cunning Hunter. Kings and Princes have delighted in this Sport in all Ages; and the two most eminent Persons of this our Day are now hunting; one of them at *Fountainbleau*, and the other in *Norfolk*. *Feasting* is likewise so far from being contrary to our Religion, that we find the *Israelites* often commanded to make solemn Feasts or Festivals, viz. the *Feast of Harvest*, the *Feast of Tabernacles*; with many others too tedious to be enumerated.

Forasmuch, therefore, as it hath been always customary in this Kingdom for great Men, in time of publick Prosperity, to give Feasts unto the People, and make publick Rejoycings; so doth it behove also such as are sufficient for the purpose aptly to describe, and with proper Phrase and gorgeous Shew of Words to set forth such Magnificence, that the Memory thereof may not be lost to After-ages.

Many plentiful Entertainments hath our Friend *Hollingshead* served up in his delightful History; particularly one of the Archbishop of *York*; and also many of the famous Cardinal *Wolsey*; who, when he went to his Country Seat, took so many of the Nobility and Gentry with him (who were indeed a Kind of *menial Attendants*) that he left the Court almost like a Desert, and the King his Master seemed quite neglected.

But how sumptuous soever the Entertainments were of this proud and haughty Cardinal, we shall not find them in any degree of Comparison with That, which we are now attempting (tho' I fear, with barren and sapless Style) to describe.

Reasonable indeed is it that *great* and *able Men*, who, by their Industry and Application, have procured many Blessings to their Country, should sometimes relax their Minds, and share those Blessings, which they have been the means of procuring.

Who therefore, if his Heart doth not burn with *Envy* and *Malice*, can enter the House of this *great* and *good Man*, now sojourning and merry-making in *Norfolk*, without saying, *Peace be within these Walls?* for He hath procured *Peace* unto the Kingdom. Who is there, that doth not rejoice at the *Plenty*, which is within his Palace? for He hath strewed *Plenty* over the Face of the Land. To Him our present Tranquility is owing, and the steady Happiness of our present Circumstances. Through his Care the *Husbandman* soweth with Profit; and the *Merchant* saileth with Safety,

Safety. How comfortable likewise is it unto the People to see their *Governors* indulge themselves in Ease, Diversions and Pleasures; which, like the playing and singing of Mariners, is a sure Sign that the Ship is safe and in a Calm?

This great *Feast* or *Festival* certainly exceedeth all, that ever went before it, both in respect to its Plenty and Politeness; for if we regard the Number and Value of the Horses; the Stauchness and Goodness of the Hounds; or the Wit and Humour of the Company; we shall be at a loss to know which merits most our Commendation; for from this Society might be called Persons, for their Wisdom and Valour, fit either to compose a *Cabinet Council*, command *Fleets* and *Armies*, or be *Plenipotentiaries* at any *Congress* in *Christendom*. But, above all, let us commend the *Cooks*; for the *Cooks* of *Norfolk* have been eminent for many Ages.

Proceed we now to give some Particulars of this noble Entertainment.

The *Breakfast*, or *preliminary Course*, is made up of cold Venison-Pasties, Hams, Tongues, Tea, Chocolate, with a Mixture of many other Delicacies; in-somuch that it hath been generally called an *Ambigu*; which being interpreted in our Language, signifies something *doubtful* in its Nature; or which no body knows what to make of. At this Course, the Conversation run chiefly upon hunting a *Vixen*, or *She Fox*, which they were determined to pursue thro' all the Brakes, thick Woods and Coverts She should lead them. They got on Horseback, and resolved to ride over Hedge and Ditch after her, not regarding the *He-Fox* that belong'd to her; who kept always *burrowed* in his Earth, and never stirred abroad.

After a very long and wearisome Chase, they found that They could make nothing of this same *Vixen*; for she baffled all their Hounds, and tired them and all their Horses. By way of Excuse, They pretended that,

that, during the whole Chase, a large *Eagle* flew over her Head, and protected her from the Dogs. The *chief Huntsman* tells an incredible Story. He says, that he saw this *Eagle* once make a stoop to a *foundling Child*, that lay in the Way; and that he fed the Child with *Bologna Sausages*, in the Manner that we often see it represented in our Signs. But the *Huntsman* being known to be a *great Gunster*, the Company did not seem inclinable to believe him.

The *Dinner* consisted of many hundred Dishes, all replete with the most excellent Viands, of great Prodigality and delicious Flavour! To express the sumptuousness or Variety of it, is impossible. But some of the most remarkable Dishes will I adventure to relate.

In the first Place, there was an *Hotch-Potch*, which consisted of *Westphalia Bacon*, *English Beef*, *Dutch Pickle Herrings* and *French Truffles*. It seemed very strong, but few People relish'd it; for it could not sit well on their Stomachs.

Over against This, was placed a *Spanish Ollio*, with an huge *Ostrich* in the Middle of it. It was made chiefly with *Garlick*, *Giblet-Hare*, and many other Ingredients, all seasoned with certain Spices brought from the *East-Indies*.

There was also a *Peace Soup*, filled with Balls of *Forced-meat*.

A *CARDINAL* (which is a most rare Fish often mentioned by *Horace*, tho' scarcely known in *England*) was placed super-eminently on a Ring of Gold in the midst of the Table, and round it were seen many *Gudgeons*.

Next came a pompous Pye, with a *young Cokeril* upon it, curiously formed in Paste, with an *Olive Branch* in his Mouth; signifying, as the Neighbours would have it, the *Peace*, which the young King of *France* was to give to *England*; for *Gallus*, as we have been informed, in the ancient Language of the renowned

renowned *Romans*, signifieth both a *Cock* and a *Frenchman*.

There was likewise a *Prussian wild Boar's Head*, with an *Orange* in his Mouth.

The *Master of the House* himself fed chiefly on *Stock-Fish* and *Plumb-Dumpling*. On one Side of him stood a *Porringer of Viper-Broth*; and on the other a *Bisk of Pidgeons*; denoting the Wisdom of the *Serpent*, and the Innocency of the *Dove*.

The *Sallad* consisted entirely of *Sallary* and *Penny-Royal*, which all the *Guests* devoured very greedily.

There was one Dish, that shock'd many of the *Spectators*; which was an *English Collar of Brawn*, stuck with *French Lillies*, instead of *Rosemary*. At This many were offended, and said the Times were hugely changed with our *Landlord*; and his Taste, and Way of Living were strangely altered; for they remembred when he had like to have overturned the whole Table, upon seeing some *French Kickshaws* upon it, which he said was Poison to an *English Constitution*; but now forsooth, nothing but *French Sauces* will go down; and he loves every Thing *ga-reen'd*, but particularly *Tongues*, when they are so, which we should call *corrupted*.

But how vain would it be to attempt to describe the whole of this Entertainement? All was elegant, sumptuous and polite, tho' no *Desert* ever appeared at it. The *Wines*, which came from all Parts of the World, were like the *Master* rich and generous. *Burgundy* and *Norfolk Nog* were equally plenty; and and all the Neighbourhood were invited to partake of it, except the poor *Handy-Craftsmen*.

Now, what can we do better, at the End of this our little History, than to pray for the Prosperity of this great *Feaster* and his illustrious Family?

PRAYER.

PREVENT them therefore, O Lord, in all their Doings ! Turn their Hearts and enlighten their Understanding, that from henceforth, knowing whose Ministers they are, and whose Authority they bear, they may bring forth the Fruits of good Living, to the Honour and Glory of his Majesty, and the Safety of these Kingdoms ; and may that Peace, which passeth all Understanding, make them h——g together in Unity and a-Cord ; and let all the People say, Amen !

R.

The End of the Third Volume.





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